

The Outlook

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The dominant importance of the next few months in American history can hardly be overestimated. Nationally and in the several States political and legislative action of supreme interest is imminent; the Presidential campaign, the proposals before Congress, the issues growing out of the war—all will occupy attention and demand interpretation. It is with this in view that The Outlook has engaged as a member of its staff, from February 1 to July 1, ex-Senator Frederick M. Davenport, of New York. Mr. Davenport will furnish a series of letters and articles from Washington and other centers, giving an impartial account of the National activities and policies of the Presidential year. The progress of the Presidential pre-nomination campaign will be the most important of the large National subjects treated. The Outlook believes that no other writer and student of affairs is better equipped than Mr. Davenport for this difficult task. As a Republican Senator in the New York Legislature, as Progressive candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in 1912 and for Governor in 1914, as Professor of Law and Politics in Hamilton College, and from wide travel throughout the country, he has had that kind of intimate knowledge of public men and public affairs that gives poise, moderation, and fairness to his discussion of serious questions. Readers of The Outlook know also that he can make such discussions readable, human, and concrete, as was abundantly shown in his special correspondence for The Outlook in the Barnes-Roosevelt lawsuit and in his series of articles descriptive of social, economic, and political conditions in the Western States which appeared in The Outlook under the general title "On the Trail of Progress and Reaction."—THE EDITORS.

THE STORY OF THE WAR: SUBMARINE WARFARE— THEORY AND PRACTICE

While academic discussion of international law continues between the diplomats of America and Germany, the submarine warfare also continues—one imperfect summary shows that fifty-nine vessels were destroyed by submarines in the Mediterranean in six weeks, some no doubt legitimately, others not; another puts the number at seventy-two. The optimists in Washington, as we write (January 12), assert that our Government has all but come to an understanding with the German Government as to what was, what is, and what shall be international law and practice in this form of warfare. There is not, and never has been, any room to question the principles of international law as to stopping, searching, seizing, and, under certain very closely defined limitations, destroying merchant vessels. Above all other

considerations has been the safety of unoffending non-combatants on such ships. But Germany has contended, and so far as we can see still contends, that she may violate this basic rule, and incidentally kill Americans, unoffending men, women, and children, if only she sets up the excuse that it is done in reprisal. Until Germany recedes from this position all rejoicings at Washington are premature and vain. More than this, the history of recent submarine warfare shows that what is needed from the Teuton nations, as well as from our Administration, is not declaration or discussion, but action. So long as merchant ships continue to be sunk without warning, whether by Germans, by Austrians, or by Turks, mere argument is worthless.

Applying these primary principles to the Note handed in to our Department of State recently by the German Ambassador, we find that the three declarations made do not touch

the main point at issue. Germany states that her submarines (not Austria's) in the Mediterranean have not been instructed to act on the reprisal theory, because that part of the seas is not in Germany's declared "war zone;" and, specifically, that German (not Austrian) submarines in the Mediterranean must see to the safety of passengers and crew before a ship is destroyed. Germany adds that all cases are sufficiently investigated by prize courts, and that Germany will always communicate the results to our Government if American interests are involved, and that if its orders are disobeyed by its own submarine officers punishment will be inflicted upon the guilty and reparation made for damages caused.

There is no reference whatever to the Lusitania in this Note, but it is understood that Germany is now willing to pay for the death of our innocent citizens, and, apparently, it considers that its unofficial undertaking not to torpedo without warning "liners" ought to satisfy our Government. To say that such a promise of partial reform in criminal acts at all establishes the principles set forth over and over again in the American Notes is a weak and baseless claim.

FENCING WITH WORDS

In all this discussion there has been a tendency to fence with certain words, phrases, and formulas. Our Government, for instance, seems greatly concerned over the word "disavowal," and does not seem to know just how to use it. For Germany to "disavow" the Lusitania crime would be a contradiction of terms, for she announced her intention to commit that crime in advance, and has maintained that it was a just act ever since. What Germany can, and should, "disavow" is the claim that it has the right to commit such an act under the guise of "reprisal." And here again we have a word which is being used with great looseness, especially by Germany. It seems to be the German view that because military authorities recognize reprisal and retaliation as measures that may be taken in extreme cases, under guarded conditions and with every concession to justice and humanity, *therefore* any act, however cruel or out of proportion to the offense, may be calmly excused with the word "reprisal." If this academic discussion is to continue, we suggest to our Government that it ask Ger-

many to show where in international law or precedent or human justice can be found authority for the killing of innocent, neutral non-combatants under the plea that it is a reprisal for a wrongful act committed by a belligerent.

The Frye Note from Germany has little to do with the general submarine warfare question, and was written before the Persia was sunk. It merely admits that to order crew or passengers of a neutral vessel into their small boats before destroying the vessel is not necessarily a reasonable way of securing their safety, and that all the conditions of weather, sea, and distance must be taken into account.

If our authorities at Washington have received any fuller information about the sinking of the Persia, they have not made it public. We continue to hear from Washington, however, the suggestion of excuses for the destroying of the Persia. It is again said that she may have carried a gun, and it is also said that as no one on board the Persia saw a submarine, and only one person testified that he saw the wake of the torpedo, it cannot be proved that the Persia did not strike a mine. What mines would be doing in that particular locality no naval authority seems able to tell; but, in the absence of any explanation from German or Austrian authorities, our Government seems to be getting on very well in making out a case for them.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR

With regard to military operations the interest of the week under discussion (January 5-12) was chiefly centered on the withdrawal of the British army from its last hold at the Dardanelles, the terrific struggle between the Russians and Austrians in Galicia and toward the Rumanian border, the active fighting in the Champagne district in France, and the apparently serious plight of the British force in Mesopotamia.

The withdrawal of last week from the Dardanelles completed that which was made from Suvla Bay and Anzac Cove on December 19. After this the British held a position, only five miles in extent, on the very tip end of the Gallipoli peninsula. Now not a British soldier remains in the Dardanelles region, and over a hundred thousand are reported as killed or wounded since the disastrous, but, as it seemed at the time, promising, attempt to force the Dardanelles and reach Constantinople. The withdrawal last week

was successful, although the first British account stating that not a single man was lost evidently referred only to the actual embarkation, as later British reports describe a battle with the attacking Turks in which five British officers and one hundred and thirty men were killed or wounded. Evidently the operation was an extremely difficult and dangerous one, and it is creditable that this as well as the former withdrawal was accomplished with success under heavy fire.

The Russian offensive has been marked by many furious onslaughts. Reports that the Russians had taken Czernowitz proved incorrect, but it is asserted that they did actually capture the almost equally important town of Czartovysk, which has a railway position giving it strategical value. This great new Russian drive, according to the most recent reports before us, appears to have been brought to at least a temporary standstill, but it has been marked by a considerable advance, and will very likely exercise a political influence on Rumania. Not improbably, also, the offensive will be resumed and pushed even harder.

On the French line and in the Champagne district the German forces made a formidable offensive movement which lasted two or three days. The fighting was severe, and both sides suffered considerable loss. The French and German despatches differ widely as to the losses, but the French appear to have evidence to support their claim that the German attack was decisively checked, and they also insist that the small gains made by the Germans were afterwards lost. French reports on January 12 say that the German Imperial Guard was engaged among the 60,000 men in the attack.

The situation in Mesopotamia is, as we write, critical and apparently threatening to the little British army there. The reports are confused and contradictory, but the fact seems to be that General Townshend's forces, when driven back from their recent attack on Bagdad, made a stand at the town of Kut-el-Amara. Some accounts put this force at ten thousand men; if this is all that is left of General Townshend's army, the losses in previous engagements must have been terrible, for it has been stated in Parliament that he had originally "over a division," *i.e.*, more than twenty thousand men. The British appear to have made a firm stand at Kut-el-Amara, and to have driven back several attacks of the Turks. Quite lately a large relief force has been moving up

the Tigris River to the aid of the forces at Kut-el-Amara. The size of this force, also, has been variously estimated; while it does not seem clear whence the relief force originally came—possibly from the first Dardanelles withdrawal. It is under the command of General Aylmer. The Turks seem to have interposed a force between the besieged British at Kut-el-Amara and the relief force, and Turkish despatches assert that the Turks will soon occupy Kut-el-Amara. It is not at all certain, however, that the relief force has yet (January 12) been defeated. The possibility has been suggested that in point of fact this relief force is part of the original expedition against Bagdad. If so, incredible blunders must have been committed to have allowed the two sections of the army to become so widely separated. More probably General Aylmer's force is one which had been sent to the Persian Gulf after it was evident that General Townshend's expedition was a failure, his army outnumbered and outfought, and his line of retreat seriously threatened.

The capture by the Austrians of the height of Mount Lovcen, which dominates the Bay of Cattaro on the Adriatic, and which is often called "the Gibraltar of the Adriatic," is of great importance, not only for its bearing on the campaign which Austria is actively carrying on against Montenegro, but also for its naval value. The evacuation of Cetinje, Montenegro's capital, is reported from Rome as imminent.

The loss of the British battle-ship *King Edward VII* by striking a mine, probably in the North Sea, was not accompanied by any loss of life. This is said to be the twelfth British war-ship of over 10,000 tonnage lost in this war.

THE CASE OF THE BARALONG

From time to time the cable despatches from Germany have referred to what is known as the case of the Baralong. The German Chancellor mentioned it not long ago in his speech before the Reichstag. Finally, an official statement was addressed on the subject by Germany to Great Britain, and a reply has recently been made by the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey.

It appears that the charge of inhumanity made by Germany was on two grounds: the first was that the British auxiliary war-ship *Baralong*, disguised and flying the

American flag, crept up on a German submarine off the coast of Ireland, evidently not submerged, and destroyed it by gun-fire. We may take up this charge first, and dismiss it by saying that from time immemorial it has been recognized as perfectly proper naval procedure for a war-vessel of one nation to approach an enemy in disguise, and that if any obligation exists as to the disguise or flag, it is that fire should not be opened until the proper national flag is displayed. There is nothing to show that this was not done in this instance, and the charge is not only untenable but preposterous.

Germany's further charge is that when the submarine was sunk and its crew was floating in the water they were shot down by the British sailors. If this is true, words cannot be found too strongly to condemn the action of the men guilty of such a piece of barbarism; not only was it their duty not to shoot the men in the water, but it was clearly their duty, if possible, to rescue them. Germany in its official memorandum adduced the testimony of six Americans who, the Germans say, were muleteers aboard the American steamer *Nicosian*, and who witnessed the whole affair. But it must be reported, also, that the British Foreign Office, through Sir Edward Grey, denies absolutely that any such killing of Germans took place; and since Sir Edward Grey's statement was published an English newspaper has printed statements by two American members of the crew of the *Nicosian*, flatly denying that any Germans were shot as alleged.

In presenting its case to the English authorities the German Government made the proposal that the case be investigated by a neutral tribunal. In his reply Sir Edward Grey offers to submit to such a tribunal, perhaps, as he suggests, made up of American naval officers, the *Baralong* case, together with other charges of naval atrocity and inhumanity which have been and which may be supported by evidence. It is improbable that any such inquiry will ever be held, but we must emphatically dissent from the comment made by the *New York "Evening Post"* upon Sir Edward Grey's offer as "pure evasion." On the contrary, it would be the height of injustice and unfairness to allow Germany to select one particular case in which it thinks it has evidence of misdoing against its enemy and to refuse to investigate with it many other cases

where the reverse is the fact. If atrocities are to be investigated by an impartial tribunal, well and good; but to ask that one incident should be investigated and others ignored is both stupid and impudent. The *London "Daily News,"* commenting on this, says: "The Germans have torn up kindly sea traditions, and it is idle to expect that their example should not be contagious. When the war is ended, it will be one of the most urgent and difficult tasks of civilization to re-establish them."

THE SPIRIT OF THE WEST

An inspiring tale of the gallant part that western Canada is playing in the war is told in an article by Mary Synon in the current number of "*Scribner's Magazine*."

"Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon," says the writer, "with less than one-fifth the population of the Dominion of Canada within their far-flung boundaries, have contributed more than one-half the 121,000 soldiers which Canada has given the Allied armies. Sixty-five thousand men have enlisted from the western provinces. . . . One in three is an extraordinarily high rate of eligibles for service among the men of the country. Using this rate, a few more than 99,000 men of the West of Canada were eligible to serve in the army. There are 65,000 who have enlisted are therefore more than two-thirds of the available men of the country. There is only one instance in history of a volunteer enlistment that equaled the same ratio—that of the Confederate States of America during the Civil War. Consider with this that the soldiers of the Confederacy were fighting in their own territory and that the Canadians have traveled anywhere from 2,000 to 4,000 miles overland before they came to the sea they must cross, and you will face the fact of an army—not of mercenaries, but of men—that has set out with the zeal of crusaders upon a journey that makes the Anabasis of the army of Cyrus the Persian a child's wandering."

British Columbia, we are told, has sent more men to the war than any other division of the British Empire. The little town of Wallachin, on the Cariboo Trail, has contributed forty-seven soldiers out of its sixty-seven eligible citizens. Vancouver, with a population of 110,000, gave 10,000; Prince Rupert

went even higher ; but Edmonton has apparently surpassed all the cities of Canada in patriotic sacrifice, for from her population of 60,000 Edmonton has sent more than 9,000 fighting men out with the bugles.

In accounting for this remarkable response of western Canada to the call to arms, the writer says :

"In the time while England's entrance into the war hung in the balance eastern Canada, except French Quebec, swung toward a policy of upholding England in any possible contingency. The West of Canada, un-English in sentiment, opposed the idea. Then Germany entered Belgium. The West blazed with beacons of anger. Western Canada went to war, not because of any so-called 'colonial' loyalty to England, but from a desire to avenge the invasion. The old-time Western idea that no man should stand idly by while the big fellow strikes his little neighbor has been the motive that took the farther provinces to war."

Incidentally it is noteworthy that Canada's army has recently been increased to 500,000. The population of Canada is about 8,000,000. In the light of this shining spectacle of the heroism of Canada's West, what a contrast our own West affords! Our whole country seems not even yet to be aroused to the real issues of the war ; but aggressive pacifism such as that of Mr. Ford, Mr. Bryan, Congressman Buchanan, and Senators Gore and Works has seemed to be particularly evident in the American West. There used to be a time when our West, too, subscribed to the idea "that no man should stand idly by while the big fellow strikes his little neighbor." Where is that old spirit of our West?

OUR NAVAL POLICY

In The Outlook of January 5, in an article entitled "Preparedness and Policy," we stated the principles and policies which this country should be prepared to defend by military force if necessary. These we defined in a creed which includes a belief in the Monroe Doctrine, the doctrine that the destinies of the American continents shall be directed by the inhabitants of those continents ; a belief in maintaining our pledged faith to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines ; a belief in the possession and security of the Panama Canal ; and, finally, a belief in our duty as a Nation to support and enforce international law. To uphold this creed we need efficient land and naval forces, and

last week we stated what we believe to be practical steps to be taken at the moment to obtain the necessary land forces. There remains to be discussed what shall be done about the navy. The voters of the United States as a body are not competent to decide technical details of our war-ships. It would be foolish of them to try to vote on the question as to whether we should use coal or fuel oil in our war-ships or whether the engines shall be reciprocating, turbine, electric, or internal combustion engines. But there are certain principles which they are competent to decide. They may be stated briefly, as follows :

1. It is an absolute prerogative of the people, through their duly elected representatives, to lay down the National policies.

2. Upon the people, through their Government representatives, must rest the final responsibility for the amount of money spent to enforce those policies and to maintain National defense.

3. Having determined upon the National policies, the governmental representatives of the people are entitled to know from their military advisers the size and number of the forces which would be needed in carrying out the policies decided upon.

4. The money spent on National defense must be based upon a combination of the factors of our National resources and our National obligations.

5. When the people, through their representatives, after due consideration of these factors, have determined upon the amount of money which they wish to spend, this amount should be turned over, with practically no limitations, to the Nation's technical advisers.

The present Administration has not acted upon the last principle, which is as essential as any of the others. It has determined upon the amount of money which it is willing to spend and then has declined to follow the recommendations of the General Navy Board as to how this money should be spent.

Congress has now, and should have, the right to determine the amount of money to be spent on a given public building ; but if, having done this, it should by vote attempt to determine the strain that is to be put upon the steel skeleton structure of the building, and to order girders of a certain dimension to be used here and of a certain dimension to be used there, it would be laughed to scorn by the country. But the problems of building a navy are even more

intricate than those of erecting a Government building. Is it not clear that, having determined upon the amount of money that it wishes to spend upon the navy, and having selected the best construction engineers it can, Congress should leave those engineers to determine all the technical questions?

DR. ELIOT AND PREPAREDNESS

During the course of the present war ex-President Eliot of Harvard has contributed a number of timely and suggestive articles to the daily press with regard to the position of America. His latest article seems to us quite as important as any, if not more important than any. It has to do with the subject of preparedness.

Why should we prepare for possible war? asks Dr. Eliot, and replies:

1. Some say that the object is to defend all our coasts and borders against invasion.

2. Others think that it would be enough to defend the principal cities or ports.

3. Another view is that peace within our own borders can best be maintained by being ourselves well prepared to go to war.

4. If universal military training is a good thing in itself, a larger navy and a much larger army are to be recommended.

5. It is not an uncommon opinion that the main object of preparedness is to enforce the Monroe Doctrine.

6. Advocates of preparation for war generally believe that invasion of the United States is not improbable in case the Central European empires triumph in the present war.

Surely, in this confusion of opinions, as Dr. Eliot logically concludes, there is no clear guidance to a sound military policy.

But not all favor military preparedness. Some oppose it. There is an equal diversity of views among them. For instance:

1. Militarism having been the great curse of every civilization, the most important service we can render is to get along without any armaments, military class, or martial spirit.

2. Others, admitting the necessity for some trained forces to prevent disorders at home, to enable us to meet responsibilities in our insular possessions, or to enforce treaties already made, urge that no increase of our present forces is necessary.

3. Some opponents would confine preparations to the navy, leaving the army as it is.

4. According to almost all opponents of preparation, the great war in Europe proves conclusively that elaborate preparations for war inevitably produce war.

5. Other pacifists affirm that there is no danger of invasion in this country.

Amid such a clash of opinions it is difficult to conceive clearly either the objects to be sought or the limits of the preparation to be made.

Dr. Eliot's own opinion, we take it, is expressed thus in his own language:

Why should we prepare for war?

To most Americans the manner in which the Central European empires have destroyed the populations and territories which they have overrun, and have enforced the payment, wherever it was possible, of huge ransoms and indemnities, suggests strongly that it would be wise for the people of the United States to insure themselves against even a small risk of such operations being performed on them.

How shall we insure ourselves?

The most satisfactory insurance, indeed the only accessible insurance, is increase of the defensive features in naval warfare—such as mines, submarines, monitors, aeroplanes, and swift cruisers—and ample provision of shore batteries of long-range guns. . . .

If, however, we are compelled to imagine the landing upon our shores of a large foreign army, it is obvious . . . that a great army may be suddenly needed, even though our Government and people be firmly resolved to wage no war but a defensive war.

Is this all?

If a nation is to succeed in war, it must possess certain mining and manufacturing industries. . . . The activities of the industrial army are quite as important as those of the military forces.

Neither the industrial army nor the army of soldiers can be properly filled on the principle of voluntary enlistment. . . . It must be filled and kept full on the principle of universal service as a duty to one's country.

Shall we change our present army organization? Yes, says Dr. Eliot, as say the experts also:

At this moment the American people does not seem to have made up its mind that it needs to organize and support a competent army in the modern sense, . . . not an army like its present army and the State militia, . . . but one modeled on the Swiss army—a democratic army in which every officer has first served as a private, and every soldier has been withdrawn for a brief period in a series of years from his ordinary occupation and has served practically without pay during these short periods; an army which exists for defensive purposes only, that is well trained for the real work of a soldier—to dig fast with pick and shovel, to

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



WITH HIS BOOTS ON
FIGHTING TO THE LAST!

Weed in the Philadelphia Public Ledger



HIS NEW YEAR'S CALL
RUSSIA REDIVIVUS!

Williams in the Indianapolis News



CLOSE HARMONY
THE AMERICAN ENTENTE

Stanley in the South Bend (Indiana) Tribune



THE NEW PASSENGERS
PROHIBITION MAKES ANOTHER GAIN

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Simplicissimus (Munich)



MEATLESS DAY IN MUNICH

"This comes from the war! For ten years I have been priding myself on my roast pork, roast kidney, roast veal, roast mutton—and now in my old age I must unlearn it all!"

THE GERMAN MEAT FAMINE

From the Bystander (London)



A LITTLE KNOWLEDGE

English Chaplain (taking his leave of the French soldiers): "Je prie que le bon Dieu vous blessera toujours!" ("I pray the good God to bless you always!" he means to say, but *blessen* is the French verb, not for *bless*, but for *wound*.)

From the Passing Show (London)



A TABLOID TRAGEDY

(Experiments are being made in Germany with artificial foods in tablet form)

Hans: "Louise! I the artificial food tablets was counting, and I them have mixed. Donnerwetter! I to distinguish cannot between the roast goose and the milk."

GETTING THINGS MIXED IN THE WAR ZONE

construct shelters from bullets, to make long marches carrying a burden of fifty pounds, to run short distances carrying a like burden, and to use with accuracy instruments of precision, like rifles, machine guns, artillery of all sorts, telephones, aeroplanes, and motor trucks.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND DEMOCRACY

Turning from the subject of preparedness, Dr. Eliot then considers two subjects about which many of us feel that the country has duties to perform. These subjects are the freedom of the seas and the progress of democracy. For the first the commercial world is chiefly indebted to the liberal policy of the British Empire, affirms Dr. Eliot, as does every one. But can a proper freedom be longer secured through Britain's unaided action? If not, by what combination of nations could it be assured? The ex-President of Harvard suggests a combination of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States, or Scandinavia and Pan-America.

For the purpose of defense Dr. Eliot suggests a "combination of Great Britain, France, and the United States to resist attack on any one of the three."

As to the progress of democracy, Dr. Eliot asserts that the Entente Powers are fighting the battle of freedom for the present and future generations, and are fighting the battle of the small nations and the battle of progressive civilization. Are we?

Neither the Administration at Washington nor any representative body of Americans has protested against the German and Austro-Hungarian disregard of treaties and of the existing humane conventions about the conduct of war. . . . Only a few private voices have been heard testifying that the sympathies of the overwhelming majority of the American people are with the free Governments in their fearful struggle, and that the condemnation of German-Austrian faithlessness to public pledges and of German savagery in the conduct of war is well-nigh universal. How much longer will this reserve and silence be satisfactory to Americans who love the ideals of public liberty, justice, and humanity for which this country stands, and who feel that those ideals ought to be supported by the American Republic with heartiest sympathy and frankest speech wherever men are fighting and dying for them, and women and children are sickening and starving because their men assert them?

As experience shows that peace cannot be maintained through international agreements,

the peace-desiring nations are thrown back on the study of a less ambitious but more hopeful project—that is to say, the creation of a league of nations, pledged to resist attack from without on any of its members. Had such a league existed in July, 1914, says ex-President Eliot, the present war would not have taken place. He goes further. He believes in the usefulness of even a small league of faith-keeping nations, and holds that the war would not have taken place even if the league had contained only three Powers—Great Britain, France, and Russia. For us in America it is now an interesting question whether we should not join such a league if invited to do so. For, concludes Dr. Eliot, the creation of such a league might go far to stop the present war. The future will ask, as Dr. Eliot justly prophesies, not isolation and selfishness, but co-operation in bearing burdens and sharing benefits; certainly the future will offer its rewards to freedom, enterprise, and good will in the society of nations. Nor need we wait for the future, we would add. The present asks these things and offers these rewards.

MEXICO

As we go to press the newspaper despatches report that on Tuesday of last week a body of Mexican bandits took seventeen Americans who were traveling on a Mexican northwestern train to a mine in Chihuahua in which they were legitimately engaged, stood them against the wall, and shot sixteen of them to death. It is said that this incident has created great excitement along the border. It ought to create, if the facts are as reported, intense indignation throughout the country.

The assassination furnishes an awful illustration of the practical effect of a policy of non-resistance, when pursued by a great Nation. For over two years the United States has been pursuing this policy in Mexico. It has refused to defend Americans pursuing lawful occupations in that country, and has left them to defend themselves or remain undefended. This policy has done nothing to decrease anti-American prejudice in Mexico; it has increased and intensified that prejudice. Our Government may content itself with sending a note of protest, or demanding a money compensation; but that the friends of the murdered men and the corporation which employed them will demand nothing more is not to be believed. The inevitable result of

this assassination will be private reprisals, unless there is a radical change in American policy—a change which will afford protection to Americans in the future, and at least endeavor to bring the Mexican assassins to justice.

The policy of disarmament is not a peace policy; its inevitable result is the massacre of the defenseless, and consequent private war. Mr. Bryan is not leading his followers to the land of peace; he is leading them to chronic private war.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TERM

The daily newspapers have been making a great deal of capital out of the fact that the Democratic platform of 1912 declared in favor of a single Presidential term, and that in spite of this declaration Mr. Wilson is clearly a tentative candidate for a second term. The New York "World" last week published a letter which President Wilson wrote to the Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, Vice-President of the National Democratic Committee in 1913, in which he (Mr. Wilson) discusses at some length this question. In that letter he makes the following statement of the principles which guide him in his view of the Presidential term:

A fixed Constitutional limitation to a single term of office is highly arbitrary and unsatisfactory from every point of view.

Put the present customary limitation of two terms into the Constitution, if you do not trust the people to take care of themselves, but make it two terms (not one, because four years is often too long) and give the President a chance to win its full service by proving himself fit for it.

I believe that we should fatally embarrass ourselves if we made the Constitutional change proposed.

I am not speaking of my own re-election; I am speaking to redeem my promise that I would say what I really think on every public question, and take my chances in the court of public opinion.

I can approach the question from a perfectly impersonal point of view, because I shall most cheerfully abide by the judgment of my party and the public as to whether I shall be a candidate for President again in 1916. I absolutely pledge myself to resort to nothing but public opinion to decide that question.

With these principles we heartily agree. We are glad that the President has stated

them and proposes to stand upon them, except that we would not even limit a President to two consecutive terms. We would leave it to the people to decide whether they would have a President for one term or ten terms. We see no more reason why a President of the United States, who is efficient and is doing what the people want him to do, should not be re-elected than why the president of a railway who is efficiently serving his stockholders should not be re-elected for term after term. The main thing is to give the stockholders in the one case, or the voters in the other, such freedom that they cannot be bound down by corruption or bureaucracy so as to prevent them from dismissing a president when they want to do so. As we now see it, The Outlook will oppose the re-election of President Wilson, but it is a matter for the people of the country to decide, and if the majority want him they should have a full and free opportunity to elect him. The Constitutional limitation of the term of a President of the United States is a Constitutional limitation of the right of the people to govern themselves. We wish that Mr. Wilson had declared himself on this point while seeking the votes of his fellow-citizens; but that is now a bygone. He has now made his position clear before seeking re-election or even renomination, and that is the main point. We are glad that Mr. Wilson is not going to allow himself to be bound down by a foolish declaration in a party platform.

PLANS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The National leaders of the Progressive party held a conference in Chicago last week which has attracted attention throughout the country. Every State in the Union but one was represented. The conference framed and issued a declaration of principles upon which it is hoped that the Republican and Progressive parties may unite in opposition to the Democratic party at the next Presidential election. By a unanimous vote the National Progressive Convention was appointed for June 7, at Chicago, the date and place of the National Republican Convention. The chief purpose of this action is expressed in the following paragraph from the declaration:

We take this action, believing that the surest way to secure for our country the required leadership will be by having, if possible, both the Progressive and Republican parties choose the

same standard-bearer and the same principles. We are confident that the rank and file of the Republican party and the very large independent vote of this country will support such an effort.

But it was made clear that this reunion could be effected only if the stalwart or stand-pat or reactionary Republicans of the type of Mr. Barnes, of New York, and Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, shall accept the general principles of popular government for which the Progressive party stood in 1912. These general principles are expressed in a personal message received from Colonel Roosevelt, who did not himself attend the conference :

I send you my hearty greetings. We, as a country, are facing a great world crisis, in which for the last eighteen months this Nation has fallen far short of its duty, both to its own people and to the law-abiding and justice-loving nations of mankind.

There is a crying need that we shall cast aside all purely partisan considerations and disregard all but the vital issues affecting the National life and shall strive whole-heartedly for a sound Americanism, which shall insist that every man who is within our borders shall be an American and nothing else.

We must do justice to our people at home: we must insist that they have justice when abroad.

We must insist on the most thoroughgoing preparedness to protect our rights against all possible attacks by any aggressors. Such preparedness is the best guarantee of any honorable peace.

We must ever remember that there cannot be such preparedness in things material unless there is also that preparedness of soul and spirit which alone renders a nation fit to perform its high and difficult duties in national and international life.

Mr. George W. Perkins, Chairman of the conference, said that the reunion of the Progressive and Republican parties does not depend upon the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt. In our judgment, however, the reunion does depend upon the nomination of a joint candidate who shall stand in the main for the principles for which Mr. Roosevelt stood in 1912. Justice Hughes is probably such a man. Perhaps Governor Hadley, of Missouri, or Governor Hiram Johnson, of California, might answer. We believe, however, that Justice Hughes is profoundly sincere in the wish which he has expressed not to be considered as a candidate. He is a man of strong will and determined purpose, and we are inclined to think that if he were nominated

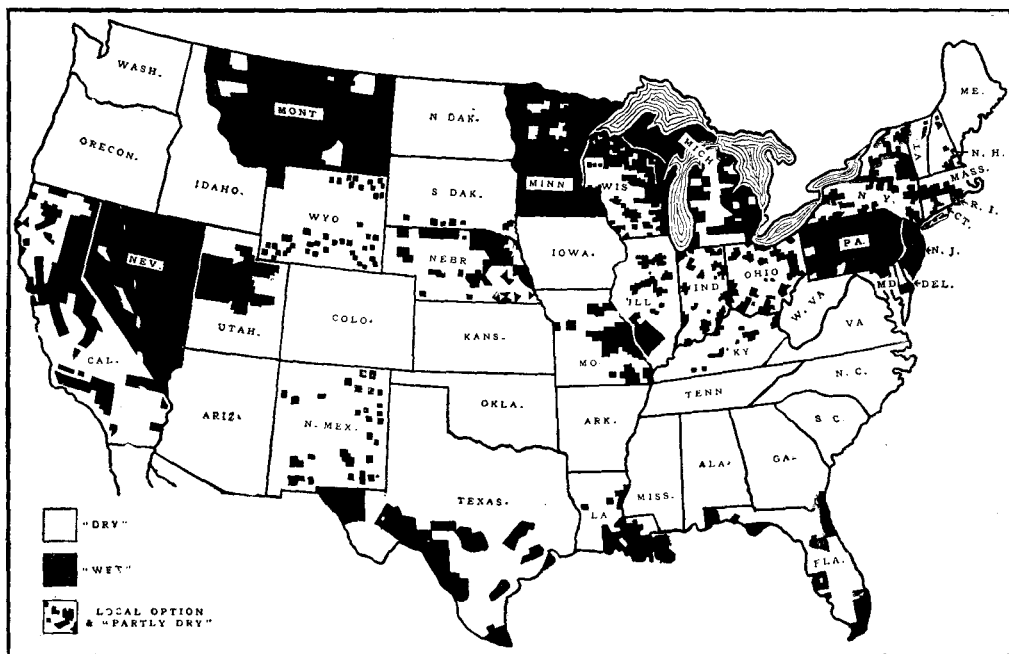
by acclamation at Chicago he would telegraph his refusal. In spite of the personal opposition of men like Mr. Barnes, Mr. Penrose, and, we are sorry to add, Mr. Root, it now looks as if the opposition—by which term we mean to include all those who, whether regular Republicans, National Progressives, or Independents, are opposed to the course of the present Administration—can more easily and more successfully unite on Mr. Roosevelt than any other leader. It is the general opinion of those who are familiar with political affairs that the Progressive conference in Chicago shows that the Progressive party is by no means dead as a National political force. Its action last week makes it clear that the pre-nomination campaign will be one of very unusual interest.

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA

In this number of The Outlook there appears an article by the Governor of Kansas, the Hon. Arthur Capper. Governor Capper's article is a discussion of the effect of prohibition upon the State of which he is the Chief Executive. In connection with this article it is interesting to study the prohibition map of the United States which appears on the next page, and to note the immense strides which the cause of the temperance forces has been making in the past few years. Even in the States which have not voted to abolish the liquor traffic there has been a great advance in the area of dry territory. In Illinois, for instance, over twelve hundred townships and fifty-five entire counties have voted out the liquor business under an optional prohibition referendum bill, which offers to the people the best and fairest kind of home rule. A similar measure will be introduced this year in the New York Legislature, the State which has handled its liquor business, not as a social problem, but chiefly as a source of revenue.

Of the nineteen States which are now under prohibitory law, seven were added to the prohibition cause in 1915. Seven more will vote on the question during the coming year, and the chances are that perhaps three of these will also go dry. The seven which went dry on January 1 are Iowa, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Arkansas, and South Carolina. Virginia has already voted for State-wide prohibition, but the reform will not go into effect until November 1, 1916.

In connection with these statistics with



THE MARCH OF PROHIBITION

Prohibition became effective in seven States on January 1, bringing the total number of "dry" States in the Union up to nineteen. On this map territory where prohibition is now in force is shown in white, territory where the saloons still flourish is indicated in black. Pieces of licensed territory here and there in local option States are indicated by the scattered black patches. Virginia is down on this map in white, but although that State has adopted State-wide prohibition, this reform will not go into effect until November 1 of this year.

regard to prohibition in the United States it is interesting to study the conclusions of the Pirogoff Society (the leading medical society of Russia) concerning prohibition in Russia. This report is published in full in the twenty-ninth number of the "Russian Physician." It has been translated, and will shortly appear in a volume on "Russian Prohibition," by Ernest Gordon, to whom we are indebted for a summary of its contents.

This report begins by a discussion of the status of alcohol itself in human economy. It declares it to be a typical narcotic poison, which taken regularly even in moderation increases morbidity, accidents, sickness, suicide, and crime. It declares that alcohol cannot be classed as a food, and that beer and wine cannot be deemed nourishing or hygienic drinks. This, it ought to be added in fairness, is a disputed point. Concerning prohibition itself the Society finds that the cessation of the drink traffic in Russia has contributed to a diminution of sickness (especially venereal and mental) and to an increase of industry and material wealth. As to the question of substituting light drinks for vodka, the Society declares that to permit the return

of beer as a remedy for alcoholism is no remedy at all. The Society declares that, on the contrary, beer and wine are particularly dangerous because, being weaker and pleasanter to the taste, they attract women and children. As a medicine, the Society declares that from the statements of chemists and investigators we may safely infer that the internal use of alcohol is no help to the sick, and in their treatment can well be abandoned.

The liquor districts have made much of the use of poisonous substitutes in districts in which alcohol has been prohibited. The Society finds that in Russia the extent and significance of the evils of these substitutes are negligible compared with the evils resulting from the liquors prohibited. The exaggerated importance given to the use of these substitutes can be explained partly by the obviously serious results of certain cases of poison, and partly by the circumstance that persons interested in the alcohol industry purposely overestimate the prevalence of these deleterious substitutes. The emphasis is laid on the use of these substitutes to prove that among the people there exists an irresistible need of alcohol.

**SING SING AND THE
OSBORNE-RILEY CONFLICT**

The latest episode in the conflict between Mr. John B. Riley, Superintendent of the Prisons of New York State, and Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne, that started when Mr. Osborne began his duties as Warden of Sing Sing Prison on December 1, 1914, has been Governor Whitman's action for the removal of the Superintendent of Prisons following the latter's refusal to accede to the Governor's request for his resignation. This is a development very heartening to the friends of the reform Warden, for it puts the Governor openly in the lists against Mr. Osborne's principal visible opponent.

The Governor's action came as the result of an order by Mr. Riley for the transfer of sixty-six convicts from Sing Sing to Dannemora, a change that is always regarded as a punishment, except when the men are transferred because of sickness. But among the sixty-six are eight men wanted as witnesses for Mr. Osborne at the trial of the indictment that has recently been brought against him for official and personal misconduct, and, in fact, most of the sixty-six are members of the Mutual Welfare League founded by Mr. Osborne and are known to be his friends. Professor George W. Kirchwey, who is the Warden at Sing Sing while Mr. Osborne is on leave, testified at the first hearing of the charges against Mr. Riley that the list of men ordered to Dannemora includes "the pillars of society in Sing Sing, the most influential men among the inmates, the founders of the new system on whom reforms at Sing Sing largely depended, the most trusted men in the prison."

Governor Whitman has charged that Mr. Riley's order for the transfer of these prisoners was "contrary to the best interests of the Prison Department and of the State," and that it was "in violation of a certain understanding" entered into by Superintendent Riley, Warden Kirchwey, and the Governor as to the management of Sing Sing.

Superintendent Riley has flatly denied the motive of the desire to hamper Mr. Osborne imputed to him for this action, and has given the case a sensational aspect by engaging as counsel former State Senator Edgar T. Brackett, of Saratoga. Mr. Riley, a Democrat, has thus chosen to defend him against a Republican Governor a Republican believed to be the political enemy of that Governor, the ally of William Barnes, and the generalis-

simo of the forces of reaction in the recent conflict of the Republican "Old Guard" with the less conservative Republican element led by Elihu Root at the recent New York Constitutional Convention. This selection tends to strengthen the suspicion that the case against Mr. Osborne has its roots in politics.

YOUNGSTOWN: THE STRIKE

If it is true, and we have not seen it contradicted, that the battle in Youngstown, Ohio, in which several men were shot dead and many others wounded was one between detectives hired by employers, and strikers, and was on the public street, then that fight and those deaths were a disgrace to town, county, and State. Private detectives, hired by one party to a quarrel, are not the guardians of public order; they correspond rather to the paid bravos of mediæval private war.

Youngstown, with its suburbs, may include a hundred thousand people. A third of this total population, it is said, consists of unnaturalized foreigners—chiefly Poles, Lithuanians, and Serbs; indeed, almost all the persons who were arrested the other day for rioting could not speak English.

The Youngstown outbreak consisted of two distinct events: first a strike, and second, a riot. The strike was the result of a demand for increased wages. The men asked this because they felt that they were not getting their share of the profits now coming to the steel industry. This industry has experienced a wave of prosperity as we compare its present condition with that of last year, when a number of prominent concerns, though maintaining wages, lost money. While at the beginning of the European war the steel business was depressed, by the end of the war's first year prices and tonnage had begun to advance so rapidly that last month almost every steel plant in the country was running at as nearly one hundred per cent capacity as was practicable.

The price of the shares of the various steel concerns had risen with even greater rapidity; certainly much money has been made by those shareholders who have sold at top quotations what they had bought at low prices. Moreover, the outlook for the future was stimulating. Nearly all the companies have large orders ahead at prices promising substantial profits. This prosperity, however, has been exaggerated in the public press, perhaps inspired thereto by certain investment houses seeking to market securities.

The stories of fabulous fortunes quickly made were carried to about every home, high and low. The natural and inevitable result was that mill workers everywhere began to feel that they were not getting their share. Hence the demand by unskilled workmen at East Youngstown of a wage increase from nineteen and a half cents to twenty-five cents an hour and double pay for Sunday labor. The demand was met by a concession of about half. The men would not agree to this. Hence the strike. It appears to have originated in the Republic Iron and Steel Company's works, rather than in the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company's plant, though the latter was the scene of the riot.

The Youngstown strike is really not an isolated event; the question of increased wages affects the steel industry throughout the country. Fortunately, the largest concern, the United States Steel Corporation, has forestalled trouble by voluntarily increasing its wages.

YOUNGSTOWN: THE RIOT

This strike, begun by day laborers and confined to day laborers, was entirely distinct, so trusted Youngstown correspondents inform us, from the riot. As the first day of the strike wore on and the men discussed their grievances, their rage against their employers increased in direct proportion to the drinks consumed. Finally they wanted more drink than they could pay for. They began to harry and then to raid the saloons in the neighborhood of the company's plant. In this they were assisted by many who were not strikers. The total number of strikers was about thirteen thousand; but the mob finally grew to more than double that number. They broke the doors and windows of the saloons, which had now been hurriedly closed; they seized the opened bottles of whisky and gin and knocked the tops off the other bottles. At this juncture the mob obtained some dynamite by breaking into the storehouse of the local contractor, and with this they planned, as they said, "to blow East Youngstown to hell!" At the same time the mob tried to burn the enemy's plant. It did set fire to the business section of the town, and assaulted the firemen who were trying to fight the flames.

Unfortunately, at this juncture a stone was thrown at the twenty-five private detectives in the employ of the company who were at the entrance to protect the workers; whereupon the detective leader fired his revolver,

and his men, taking this as a signal, poured a volley at the strike leaders. Twenty of the strikers and two bystanders fell, eight of them fatally wounded. This private detective episode, referred to above, reminds one of the recent strike at Roosevelt, New Jersey, when private persons attempted to do what ought to have been done by the Government. This sort of struggle ought to be called by its true name—private war.

Governor Willis, having been notified of what was taking place, ordered five companies of militia from Cleveland and other near-by towns to East Youngstown. But the militia were late in arriving.

We are glad to read the statement of the Youngstown representative of the American Federation of Labor. He said, as reported:

The men who are on strike are not organized into a union and are not affiliated with any union organization. . . . The American Federation of Labor representatives will have nothing to do with the strikers because of the pillage and burning of innocent people's property. When the Republic Iron and Steel Company's men went out on strike, we went down there and counseled them to do no violence. They followed our advice. When we learned yesterday that the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company's men were threatening trouble, we went out to persuade them not to do any violence. . . . The American Federation of Labor does not countenance violence in strikes and will have nothing to do with this one from now on.

The riot has destroyed both life and property, the latter amounting to many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

For this about two hundred foreigners were arrested, while wagon-loads of loot found in their homes, and varying from shoes to dressed pigs, were taken to the police station. These things, according to the police, had been stolen from the shops and stores attacked by the mob. Sixty-seven rioters were held for the Grand Jury on charges of riot, inciting to riot, or carrying concealed weapons. Fifty-three others, accused of minor offenses, were fined twenty-five dollars each, and sentenced to a thirty-day imprisonment; the remainder of those arrested were released.

There is, so far, no evidence, The Outlook is informed, to prove that the riot had been caused or incited by anti-war munitions agitators. On the other hand, the newspapers report that "paid sluggers and gunmen incited the riots."

Whatever the cause and incitements, the

event should throw light not only on labor conditions but on those of immigration and the use of liquor. It should teach an impressive lesson in each domain.

THE CASE OF THE ELEVEN DIRECTORS

After one of the longest trials ever held in a United States Court the jury chosen to decide the action of the Government against eleven former directors of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad for criminal violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law brought in a verdict of acquittal for six of the accused men, Messrs. Robert W. Taft, D. Newton Barney, James S. Hemingway, A. Heaton Robertson, Frederick F. Brewster, and Henry K. McHarg. The jury was unable to agree in the cases of Messrs. William Rockefeller, Charles F. Brooker, Charles M. Pratt, Lewis Cass Ledyard, and Edward D. Robbins, although the final vote was eight to four in favor of acquitting all the defendants. It is understood that the five men against whom the indictment still stands may be retried.

In considering this case the public should bear two things in mind. First, the directors were tried for conspiring to maintain a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Of this alleged illegality six directors were absolutely acquitted, and the jury failed to agree on the other five. The second thing to be remembered is that these legal proceedings were called forth by past acts of the New Haven road, for which the present administration of that road is to be in no way held responsible. Not one of the eleven men who have just been tried for violating the Sherman Law is a director of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford to-day.

Although the Government failed to make out its case with regard to the violation of the Anti-Trust Law, a great volume of testimony was brought out which showed that the management of the road under Mr. Mellen was guilty of great extravagance and of many practices which are repugnant to the best standards of business honor. These practices brought disaster to many innocent investors who can never obtain reparation by any kind of criminal procedure.

This trial brings home one very important lesson. It makes clear an important flaw in the American system of directorships in large corporations. That is, the practice of the acceptance of such directorships with-

out the acceptance of the responsibility that ought to go with such positions. Some of the above-named directors had no knowledge of the acts complained of by the Government. In other words, their work was largely perfunctory.

No man ought to accept a directorship in a corporation unless he expects to keep himself informed as to the conduct of that corporation's business and unless he is willing to be held responsible by the public for such conduct. His recourse is to resign if his protests against mismanagement or unfaithfulness are unheeded.

ADA REHAN

The recent death of "Ada Rehan" (her real name was Ada Crehan, and it is said that a typographical blunder, "Ada C. Rehan," gave her the stage name she used so long) will bring to playgoers, for whom the theatrical period from 1880 to 1900 is familiar, memories of a peculiarly enjoyable kind, such as playgoers since that time can never possess. For it is not only Miss Rehan's charm and vivacious personality that they will recall, but the fact that she was one of an admirable company which "played stock," as the theatrical phrase goes. Charles Fisher, Mrs. Gilbert, John Drew, James Lewis, Otis Skinner, Miss Edith Kingdon—how well they worked together for the common end under Augustin Daly's perhaps tyrannical but always intelligent direction! And what an enormous number of plays they produced!

The sketches of Ada Rehan's career just published give a list of plays in which she appeared which would fill a column of *The Outlook*. These plays ranged from fugitive light comedy pieces, and even melodrama, to "The School for Scandal," "The Hunchback," and Shakespeare's "Tempest." If we name her appearances in "Red Letter Nights," "The Country Girl," and "The Taming of the Shrew," it is not that they were her most famous parts, but that they left an abiding memory of sparkling mischief, saucy challenge, and moments of tenderness. Miss Rehan was not a great emotional actress, but in touch-and-go comedy she had a verve and dash which one would find it hard to parallel on the stage to-day. It is said with much truth that Augustin Daly made her what she was; but all the training in the world could not have given her the vivacity and spirit that were inborn.

These days of long runs, exaltation of single

stars, and falling off in theatrical "team-work" have, one fears, finally put an end to that fine enjoyment one had in going to Daly's, to Wallack's, to the Boston Museum, to see not this or that play, but the art of a skilled company whose members were individually interesting and combinedly doubly interesting, their names and features and peculiar abilities known to the playgoer as though they were old friends.

LORD BURNHAM

By the death, in his eighty-third year, of Lord Burnham, there passes one who did much to make English journalism what it is to-day.

Lord Burnham was of Jewish descent. He was born Edward Levy, but in 1875 assumed the surname of his uncle, and became Edward Levy-Lawson. He was graduated with honors from University College, London, and then went into the publishing business. His father had already acquired a small newspaper, the "Daily Telegraph and Courier," and turned its management over to his son.

As a proprietor the young man at once made a name for himself and his paper by lowering its price to a penny. His was the first paper to sell in London at a penny.

As an editor young Levy also gained renown. He became a trenchant leader writer, and this was particularly desirable in days when the chief editorial was the most important part of London newspapers.

As a manager Levy revolutionized news gathering by the use of the telegraph and cable. No paper in the world, it is said, spent more money for telegraph tolls. In the number of its news columns the "Daily Telegraph" became the largest and most important paper in London. It also soon took the lead in mechanical efficiency. It has always been a paper of the middle classes; this was due in a large part to the immense amount of advertising it carried, which has long made it a most profitable property.

In 1892 Edward Levy-Lawson was created a Baronet, and in 1903 was raised to the peerage as Baron Burnham, taking the title from his country seat in Buckinghamshire. But his real title to fame has always been as a creator of efficient journalism.

FRANK H. DODD

Publishing and literary circles and a wide circle of personal friends were shocked and grieved at the announcement last week of the sudden death of Frank H. Dodd, for

many years senior member of the well-known publishing house of Dodd, Mead & Company, of New York. Mr. Dodd was seventy-two years old, but was extremely active and in full intellectual strength. He was a man of rare personal qualities, efficient and keen, but notably urbane and courteous also—a typical publisher of the old school.

To readers the country over the firm name is familiar by its long list of published works. Among the most notable of Mr. Dodd's achievements as a publisher were the founding of "The Bookman," now firmly established, and unique as an illustrated monthly dealing not only with books and criticism, but with literary history and associations; and the publishing of the "New International Encyclopædia," a colossal undertaking, and a recognized and popular work of reference.

Mr. Dodd was at one time President of the Publishers' Association, and was a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce and several literary and social clubs. He took a genuine interest in many civic and philanthropic enterprises, and gave to them valuable personal services in time, attention, and executive ability.

A SOUTHERN PROTEST AGAINST LYNCHING

Year after year, as the facts and figures relating to lynching, carefully collated by three separate agencies, are published, the attention of the country is directed to the fact that lynching is a contagious social disease, that its application is rarely excusable even on the ground that justice would fail of effect if lynching did not take its place, and that it is a popular delusion that lynching occurs only or chiefly for certain extremely abhorrent crimes.

It is particularly interesting, and will, we doubt not, be of value as an influence also, that the subject was taken up the other day by the University Commission on Southern Race Questions, held at Durham, North Carolina, and composed in membership of eleven college professors, representing as many Southern States. The statement issued by this Commission wastes little time in arguing a question which really is not arguable; but points out exactly those things stated above, and especially that the wrong done to the victims is as nothing compared with the injury done to the lynchers themselves, and "to the community and society at large."

Like all bad habits, says the Commission,

"lynching deepens and widens rapidly. Formerly lynchings were mainly incited by rape and murder, but the habit has spread until now such outrages are committed for much less serious crimes."

The records of lynching for 1915, compiled by the Tuskegee Institute, recently reached *The Outlook*. The statistics are worth publishing in some detail, because they afford an enlightening view of the alleged crimes on account of which the actual crime of lynching was committed. After stating that the total number of lynchings was 69—55 of Negroes and 14 of whites—that this is an increase of 17 over the previous year, that three women were thus barbarously lynched, and that in at least four instances it developed that the persons put to death were entirely innocent, the report proceeds:

Eighteen, or more than one-fourth of the total lynchings, occurred in the State of Georgia.

Only 11 (10 Negroes and 1 white) of those put to death, or fifteen per cent of the total, were charged with rape. Other offenses and number lynched were: Murder, 17, 5 whites and 12 Negroes; killing officers of the law, 9, 3 whites and 6 Negroes; wounding officers of the law, 3; clubbing officer of the law, a family of four, father, son, and 2 daughters; poisoning mules, 3; stealing hogs, 2, white; disregarding warnings of night riders, 2, white; insulting women, 3; entering women's rooms, 2; wounding a man, 2; stealing meat, 1; burglary, 2; robbery, 1; looting, 1; stealing cotton, 1; charged with stealing a cow, 1; furnishing ammunition to man resisting arrest, 2; beating wife and child, 1, white; charged with being accessory to the burning of a barn, 1.

Lynchings occurred in the following States: Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 5; Florida, 5; Georgia, 18; Illinois, 1; Kentucky, 5; Louisiana, 2; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 2; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 3; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 2; Texas, 5; Virginia, 1.

The University Commission already quoted apparently did not have the full record for 1915 before it, but it reports three separate records for the year 1914, in which also the fact is evident that some of the lynchings were for trivial or apparently unimportant causes, such as stealing shoes. The Commission asks with justice whether Americans are to fall back on the methods of the jungle or whether they will substitute reason and deliberation for prejudice and passion. We commend most heartily its suggestion that herein lies an opportunity for the college man especially to help in molding opinion and shaping conduct.

THE LATEST NEWS FROM MARS

While it is questionable if it will serve any useful purpose, Professor W. H. Pickering's plan of making a concerted effort to determine how much is positively known about the surface markings of Mars, when the planet approaches the Earth again in February, will at least focus attention once more upon a scientific controversy which has raged for nearly forty years.

Are the "canals" of Mars real? If so, what are they? Professor Percival Lowell established his splendidly equipped observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, for the primary purpose of observing all the planets, and Mars in particular, in an atmosphere unrivaled for clearness. Until 1907 his was the only institution especially equipped and maintained for that purpose. He has not only confirmed the existence of the "canals"—first discovered by Schiaparelli in 1877—but assiduously mapped them until now he is able to indicate the positions of no less than six hundred of them, most of which he has discovered himself. To Professor Lowell the "canals" are trenches, constructed for the purpose of conducting the water from melting polar snows to areas which would still bring forth if properly watered. Mars is a dying world. Its only water is at the poles. Only irrigation on a scale which dwarfs anything that we have found necessary can save its inhabitants from death.

To prove his point, Lowell points to the unnatural, mathematical straightness of the "canals;" to the change in hues of certain areas from brown to blue-green, as the "canals" apparently creep down from the poles to the equatorial regions in the spring, and from blue-green to brown, as vegetation presumably dies with the approach of winter and the "canals" disappear; and to the "oases" toward which the "canals" converge in groups of three, six, and even seventeen, like the spokes of a wheel toward the hub.

Perhaps those who oppose him would more readily accept his views if he did not insist on regarding the "canals" as artificial and not natural markings. He has explained the surface of Mars far more simply and plausibly than any one else—so much so, indeed, that his critics sometimes advance theories astonishingly cumbersome and obscure to combat him.

To the adherents of Professor Lowell there seems something almost religiously orthodox in the opposition to Professor Lowell, which is largely based on what the opponents con-

sider the certainty or probability that there is no life in Mars. Curiously enough, the opposition comes from astronomers who are not specialists in the study of planets and who have never seen Mars in the clear atmosphere of Arizona. At the suggestion of Flammarion, M. Deloges made drawings of Mars in Algeria, with the result that they are closely similar to those made at Flagstaff, nearly seven thousand miles away. If further confirmation of Lowell's accuracy were needed, his adherents say, it would be found in the photographs which have been made at Flagstaff of the "canals," "oases," and other surface markings of Mars.

THE OXFORD HOUSE

The annual report from the Oxford House in Bethnal Green, East London, has just reached us, and is particularly interesting as showing the changes in charity work which the war has brought. The Oxford House was established in order that Oxford men might take part in the social and religious work of East London; that they might learn something of the life of the poor, might try to better the conditions of health, recreation, mental culture, and spiritual teaching, and might offer an example, as far as in them lay, of a simple and religious life.

Any one who has ever felt moved by the social and religious ideals which have distinguished those who have managed this House—such workers as the present Bishop of London and the late Lord Alverstone, for instance; those who have visited the House and taken part in some of the gatherings there; those who realize the immense and urgent need in East London; above all, those who appreciate the value of such ministrations as the House has offered, will be thrilled on reading the list of workers who have been killed in action at the front. In addition to this severe toll the war has made other great differences in the work of the House. It has not only reduced the number of residents, but has also reduced the number of prospective residents, because Oxford men physically unfit for active service wish to give their time to institutions and societies more directly connected with the war, such as the Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association. (It may not be realized in this country that the latter Association has been of immense direct help in recruiting.) The social work of the Oxford House has also

been seriously affected. The men's clubs have lost most of their members, and the boys' clubs their oldest and most responsible members.

The work for children, nevertheless, has increased, for "from mothers and teachers alike" there is "an almost universal complaint of the difficulty of teaching or controlling boys and girls in the absence of the head of the family. Many children have not seen their fathers for a year or more, and the mother with a large family of young children needs very special help and advice at this time."

THE WORK FOR WOMEN

There is also the greater necessity of caring for women at a time when the stipends of many soldiers' wives go for drink, so Oxford House has opened a club-room for the wives and mothers of soldiers. It is interesting to note that the essential thing was "to avoid any new form of excitement. . . . There is not a woman making use of the room who is not now a regular attendant at our church, though there is no effort to make a religious test or to use compulsion of any kind." In this connection an important feature is the encouragement of thrift. "It requires considerable breadth of imagination on the part of an artisan's wife to believe that the saving of a few pennies from week to week in the household will be a serious feature in deciding the issue of the war."

We are glad to note that the problem of unemployment and scarcity of work is less difficult to deal with. In the early days of the war, panic and fear of unemployment led to the feeding of children by the thousand "with a recklessness which did little credit either to the officials or to the children's parents." The second stage was one of adjustment, during which men and women tried to adapt themselves to the new conditions caused by the war. The trades in London, especially among women, are mostly specialized, and it was not easy for those who for twenty years or more had learned nothing but to manufacture paper flowers or cardboard boxes to be able, at short notice, to gain a living by tailoring or machine work. The third stage has now arrived, that of welcome comparative prosperity; indeed, "no able-bodied man need be out of work to-day." Particularly is this noticed in East London. Its proximity to Woolwich Arsenal, to the Small Arms Factory at Old Ford, and to the

city warehouses where soldiers' clothes, haversacks, etc., are turned out, has made it possible for many of those who have hitherto failed to make both ends meet to earn a living wage. To this general rule, however, there are the sad exceptions of the very aged workers, the slow worker, the widow worker with young children, and the physically unfit. Nor must it be forgotten that, if wages are high, food is dear.

Thus the war has made the social and religious work in East London more important than ever.

YIELDING TO FRIGHTFULNESS

Have Messrs. Gore, Works, Jones, and O'Gorman, of the United States Senate, forgotten that they are a part of the United States Government?

Government is instituted for the protection of the governed. In relation to the people of the country the Government is in the position of trustee. To the Government is intrusted the defense of the people's rights. Every citizen is, in this sense, a ward of the Government.

A ward may waive his rights; but the trustee who forces his ward to waive his rights or who yields to another his ward's rights is faithless. It is not the business of a trustee to save himself trouble at the expense of the undeniable rights of his wards, but at any cost to himself to defend his wards' rights, or else to get out and give place to someone who will defend those rights.

Senators of the United States are charged with defending through the enactment of law the rights of the people of the United States. There are, however, certain Senators who, in the face of the threats and aggressiveness of a foreign Power, not only want to yield the undoubted rights of American citizens, but advocate the yielding of those rights as a policy.

Does this seem incredible? Those who doubt are referred to the "Congressional Record" bearing the date of Wednesday, January 5, 1916.

Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, acknowledges that he understands perfectly clearly that what he advocates is the yielding up of American rights, for he says in the speech recorded in that issue of the "Congressional Record":

"Under existing laws, both National and international, every American citizen has the legal right to travel upon any passenger vessel that sails the sea." And yet he declares that "if any American citizen, without regard to his own safety and the safety of his country, persists in traveling upon belligerent instead of neutral vessels, the Government should order him to stop or else oblige him to go at his peril." And to this end Senator Gore has introduced a bill, one section of which states: "That no person owing allegiance to the United States who shall travel or accept transportation as a passenger with or without a passport on the vessel of any country or Power which is at the time in a state of war shall be entitled to the protection of this Government."

Senator Jones, of Washington, equally well understands what the rights of American citizens are in this respect, for he joins with those who urge that Americans should keep off vessels belonging to nations at war, and thus "should waive their right." But he goes further, and takes exactly the position of Senator Gore, for he insists that "an American citizen who, in the face of the terrible cataclysm now engulfing half the civilized world, persists in traveling for pleasure or profit in the danger zone and in a belligerent ship . . . is entitled to no consideration whatever."

Senator Works, of California, takes the same position as Senator Gore and Senator Jones. He concedes as a matter of law "that an American citizen has a perfect right to travel upon one of these ships" that belong to the subjects of a belligerent nation; and at the same time not only blames the citizen for exercising that right, but blames the Government for permitting him to exercise that right. Senator O'Gorman, of New York, by his questions and suggestions, indicates that he supported the views of Messrs. Gore, Jones, and Works.

Why do these gentlemen purpose to deny to American citizens their right to travel on any but neutral merchant vessels? They speak of this as being a merely legal right. What right opposes this merely legal right? There is but one answer, and only one that they can give: the alleged right of German "frightfulness." Senator Jones has made that perfectly plain. These American citizens whose rights he would take away are, he says, "fully advised by what has been happening from day to day. . . . I think there is not an

American citizen in this country who is not familiar with the dangers in which he is going." What are those dangers? Are they dangers to which he is lawfully subjected? Nobody, not even one of these four Senators, alleges that. They are dangers to which these citizens are subjected by the lawless, piratical acts of Germany and her ally, Austria. To yield American rights to this sort of piracy is to yield law to brute force.

But these Senators do not want our country to get into trouble. To exercise these rights in the face of German "frightfulness" is to put this country into danger.

Do these Senators realize what they are saying? They are saying that this country prefers its comfort to the maintenance of law. They are saying that it is better to yield American rights than to incur the danger of exciting the hostility of a Power that does not hesitate to kill without warning non-combatants, and even American citizens, on the high seas.

The German military policy of "frightfulness" has succeeded with Luxemburg, but not, we thank God, with Belgium. It has succeeded in terrorizing the peasant communities of Servia, but not, we thank God, the Servian Government and its brave army. The German naval policy of "frightfulness" has been successful in attaining its ends with certain Senators; we refuse to believe that it has been successful in terrorizing the American people or even those portions of the American people whom those Senators are supposed to represent.

When this war is over, what will remain of the public law of nations? Will the German Imperial Government have succeeded in establishing as a precedent for future wars the practices of the pirate? Even the concessions, which after many diplomatic notes the American Government has obtained from Germany and Austria, do not serve to preserve from wreck elements of that public law which have been so firmly established that they were never even questioned. If the counsel of these Senators were followed, not only would American rights on the high seas be irreparably impaired, but the whole public law of nations as regards the sea would be laid in ruins.

The policy advocated by Senators Gore, Jones, Works, and O'Gorman would render America not only faithless to herself, but faithless to the world.

Let us hear no more of it.

THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION

As we reported last week, Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, proposed informally to the twenty other republics of the Western Hemisphere that they join the United States in a convention or treaty containing four main provisions.

Two of these provisions seem to us to be wholly acceptable, namely, that which would embody an agreement on the part of every one of the nations concerned to maintain a republican form of government, and that which embodies an agreement to submit disputes, specifically those about international boundaries, to settlement by diplomacy, arbitration, or investigating commissions.

The republican form of government is so well established in this hemisphere that an agreement to maintain it is simply the recognition of an undeniable fact. Similarly, the practicability of submitting to arbitration boundary disputes between countries of this hemisphere has been established by experience. The monumental figure of the Christ of the Andes that stands on the boundary line between Chile and the Argentine Republic records the settlement of a boundary dispute between those nations that was both acute and war-provoking, and we believe that that figure symbolizes a state of mind which is characteristic of the Pan-American republics generally and which can safely be embodied in an agreement.

The other two proposals, however, are, in our opinion, more than doubtful. They are that these twenty-one republics should mutually guarantee their territorial integrity and should agree to prohibit the export of arms from any one of them to revolutionary forces in any other. Taken together, these two proposals constitute virtually a denial of the right of revolution. That this is recognized by the American Government itself is evident; for in a speech in support of these propositions President Wilson, addressing the delegates of these twenty-one republics assembled in the Pan-American Scientific Congress, declared that "revolution tears up the very roots of everything that makes life go steadily forward and the light grow from generation to generation." Certainly many revolutions, so called, in this hemisphere have been merely futile disturbances, and many others have been but raids upon treasure-chests and upon sources of power; but Americans will never forget that their own

National life was born in the throes of a revolution, and they can never take wittingly a position of opposition or even indifference to those who, in desperation, undertake, through revolution, to establish justice and liberty. American sympathy, so far as it was informed, was with the people of Panama in their revolt against the greed and tyranny of the Marroquin Government of Colombia, and with Madero in his insurrection against the *científicos* of the Diaz régime in Mexico. Such an agreement as is embodied in these two proposals would pledge the American Government to hinder such revolutions as these.

In his Indianapolis speech twelve months ago President Wilson announced, with reference to the anarchic condition in Mexico, his belief in a policy of non-interference on the ground that it was none of our business how the Mexicans go about their business of determining what their Government should do, that the Mexicans had as much right to spill blood as the Europeans, and that as long as he was President "nobody shall interfere with it." Between this position and the position which he now takes of participating in an agreement to suppress all revolution we think there is a safe, reasonable, and liberal middle ground.

It is easy to propose international agreements; it is much harder to keep them. We have no business to enter into an agreement which it would be wrong for us under certain circumstances to keep. The United States ought never to pledge itself to help suppress every revolution, no matter what its justification, and to deny to the revolutionists, no matter what their legitimate success, the fruits of their victory.

RELIGION IN WAR-TIME

Is it true, as some are tempted to think, that war is destructive of religion?

In a thoughtful and penetrating article in the "Atlantic Monthly" for last month, Professor Ralph Barton Perry, of the Department of Philosophy at Harvard University, offers some suggestions that must bring reassurance to many who have been able to see in the tragedy enacted across the water only that which seems to be the denial of religion and of right.

To take out of their context separate sentences from such an article is, in a measure, to misrepresent it; but, at the risk of misrepresenting it, we select certain sentences which

follow. They may suggest in part the reason why men even in the trenches have found religion more real to them than ever.

"Civilization," says Professor Perry, "is not saved by the mere purging of one's heart, but by the work of one's hand. . . . The belief that, when a man has struck an attitude, and has braved it out in the midst of a rough and vulgar world, he has solved the problem somehow and done his duty, underlies much of the pacific sentiment that is now abroad. . . . The crucial test of such a principle of life is afforded by the presence of a danger which threatens *others*, whom one may be pledged to serve, or some larger good extending beyond the limits of one's personal life. . . . When one chooses to take up arms or to suffer the enemy to triumph, one is disposing, not of one's self, but of all those lives, possessions, and institutions which the enemy threatens and which it lies within one's power to defend."

That this does not justify a philosophy which praises war for its own sake Professor Perry shows by reference to certain principles which we shall not undertake to restate here; but it does justify those who fight for the maintenance of a great common good. If a nation or a group within a nation is fighting for that which is for the benefit of its opponent as well as for its own benefit, it is engaged in a justifiable war. This principle he illustrates by the use of the police power, which is exercised ultimately as truly for the benefit of the criminal as for the benefit of those whom the criminal would injure. To-day robbery is suppressed by the whole community. "As a matter of fact, however," Professor Perry points out, "robbers were first put down by the robbed." The fact that those who suppressed robbery gained by it does not prevent their action from being justified. The principle, then, is this: "The righteous war is that waged in behalf of a higher order in which both the warring parties and others of their rank may live together in peace."

This is why it is possible for the soldier facing death to be peculiarly sensitive to noble ideals. He is denying himself for a common good. "We need to be reminded," says Professor Perry, "that the average soldier is thinking and feeling more generously than the average civilian."

That this is not mere theory is the testimony of soldiers themselves. Professor Raoul Allier, who is chairman of the Chris-

tian Student Movement of the Universities of France, and ever since the war began has been delivering a religious address each week to crowded audiences of the French educated classes, has told in one of these addresses what some of the French soldiers have been thinking of in the trenches. Here is what one young student soldier writes :

"New horizons are opening to us, and that is the message which I beg you to pass on to all of our comrades. More than ever the mission of the French Student Christian Federation appears to me immense and splendid. The appeal of Christ continues to make gains among us, and it will be still more present when the task of reconstruction appears to us."

Here is what another writes :

"In the midst of anguish we have found new certainties, deepened marvelously our spiritual experience, acquired in greater strength than formerly the conviction that the Gospel responds to the needs of souls."

Another soldier writes :

"The work is immense, and workers are needed. Let us set to work immediately if we long for a France beautiful, regenerate, renewed. One must indeed be persuaded

that this renaissance will not come as by miracle, but by the perseverance of each of us with the aid of God."

The writer of this last letter, Professor Allier explains, was eighty meters from the Germans, and shrapnel was raining about him. His letter bears as the place of its origin, "In the trenches."

These men who write in this way have been taken out of their ordinary environment and have been by that very fact liberated, as Professor Allier expresses it. They have been released from the tyranny of habit. In their old environment, to go to church was perhaps to be ridiculed; now it is possible to throw off the yoke of those who used to watch them. They have time for meditation, and meditation in the face of death and under circumstances of self-denial. And there, in the trenches, they have found or rediscovered their religious faith. When they return home they will carry that faith with them. To quote Professor Allier's words : "When a scoffer in their village calls them to account for this respect for religious matters, they will be able to reply : 'You were not with me down there, and you cannot understand what I have understood.'"

A GREAT GATHERING OF THE EXPERTS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

THE National capital during the holiday season was the scene of what in name appeared to be a scientific congress of the united Americas. And it was that. But it was also much more than that. In the broad sense of the word, in the sense in which President Wilson used the term politics as the science of the ordered progress of society, it was a political congress of vast significance. Hundreds of selected representatives of twenty-one American republics, educators, scientists, officials, talked together, walked together, ate together, thought together, for two precious weeks of the world's history. Across the Atlantic were war, carnage, hate, terrible economic loss, the crumbling of the structure of civilization. And undoubtedly it was the shadow of the world crisis which did much to give to this congress of the united Americas a seriousness of purpose and an earnestness of international conviction which will render it

permanently notable in the history of the Western Hemisphere.

And at the same time, and in unity of plan and feeling and discussion, there met in Washington for their usual annual gathering a great body of experts from all parts of the United States—historians, sociologists, economists, political scientists, skilled specialists in international law, representatives altogether, I believe, of as many as fourteen of the learned societies of the country. And through their programmes there ran the thread of reflection upon the National problems for the United States, and the international problems for the united Americas, which grow out of the recrudescence of world brutality and world passion and world-wide trampling under feet of the rules, the customs, the ideals, the policies, the fabric of civilization, which have been laboriously wrought out by the sweat and blood and tears of countless generations.

This was no volatile and vast mass-meeting

in the Pan-American Union. Except on occasions of great receptions or the like, the Congress was broken up into groups. There were as many as forty-five earnest meetings and discussions every day in hotels and halls in different parts of the National capital. In dinners and social events also of fascinating grandeur and good nature, Washington fairly outdid herself. I think the representatives of the Central and South American countries cannot have failed to be profoundly impressed with the spirit of friendliness, of sincere desire for solidarity and mutual helpfulness, which were evident in all the conferences and gatherings. As an exhibition of the very finest diplomacy, it was the United States genuinely at its best.

I do not recall that I heard the word brotherhood used. But certainly there was never a better National exemplification of the spirit of it. The brotherhood of intimate commercial and financial association, the brotherhood of codified law, the brotherhood of arbitration of all international disputes, the brotherhood of equality in guaranteeing to each other absolute political independence, the brotherhood of exchange of university professors, publicists, and other thinkers, the brotherhood of the wide and compulsory study of English in the public schools of the Latin-American countries and of Spanish in the public schools of the United States, the brotherhood of the stronger States protecting and helping to bear the burdens of the weaker States, the brotherhood of the mutual resistance to aggression on the part of nations not American—there was an inspiring note of international solidarity and good will which ran through it all.

The most disquieting thing about the whole gathering was the reflection to which it inevitably gave rise of the weakness of the domestic organization of our own country. In conference in Washington was a considerable part of the finest expert mental and moral power of the United States. And so far as the internal economic, social, and political leadership of the United States is concerned, most of the power is simply pouring over the dam. There is no way, as there is in Germany, for example, for the direct connecting up of this power to the actual operations of government and progress. Rather is there a supercilious attitude on the part of the real rulers of the American people, and in no small degree on the part of the people themselves, towards the opinion

and utility of the expert in political and governmental affairs. And the result is that a very great deal of the most unselfish thought and insight of the country is going to waste as in no other great civilized nation in the world. And about the most important thing that the United States has to learn for its well-being is to appreciate and use in a free and democratic fashion its expert brain power.

Two obvious illustrations of how a detached and unprejudiced expert can help were brought out in two particular conferences which I happened to attend. Mr. Elihu Root, before the international law section, made it clear that the great work to be done in the codification of international rules for the Western Hemisphere should be done, not by governmental officials, but by a private institute of experts, working with freedom from bias and constraint. He pointed out that the first Hague convention might have been barren of result except for the work previously done by the international institute. And the address of Professor Farnam, of Yale, before the American Association for Labor Legislation upon the new seamen's law was a beautiful example of how the unprejudiced expert can clear the atmosphere. The new seamen's law has been the subject of fierce denunciation within the past twelve months. A propagandist movement of great proportions appears to have been engaged in the effort to secure its repeal. Professor Farnam quietly demonstrated before this scientific body that, while the act may need modification in some particulars, it is in substance a sound and conservative public measure, plainly designed to release sea labor from a long experience of what has been practically involuntary servitude; that it will enormously add to the safety of passengers on the ocean by raising the standards of efficiency required of seamen; that the added cost per passenger is so small that the traveling public would gladly pay it as an insurance against harm; and, strangest of all, in the face of the vast publicity expenditures which appear to have been made to convince the country to the contrary, that it will help to build up a genuine American merchant marine, with American seamen, and help to put our own shipping on an even keel with that of other nations. Professor Farnam showed that the old international serfdom regulations with respect to sea labor had contributed to drive the great body of efficient white labor

off the ocean, and had led finally to the tapping of the lowest reservoir of labor in the Orient. And the lowest reservoir has its own ideas of safety and of who should be saved. In spite of the great advance in mechanical invention and safety contrivance, disasters and loss upon the ocean are on the increase because of the lessening in number and the deterioration in human quality of able seamen. Professor Farnam maintained that the American people are eager to see the American flag again on the ocean, but with vessels manned by American seamen, who shall receive better treatment than those under any other flag, while the passengers shall be safer than those who sail under any other flag. The very provision of the law which has been most severely criticised on the ground that it would encourage desertion, namely, that only one-half of the wages earned, instead of the whole, as formerly, shall be forfeited in case a sailor deserts at a port, was shown to be most advantageous to the growth of an American merchant marine that would be worthy of the country. It would encourage desertion in ports where the wage rate is higher. This would have a tendency to level up the wage rate all over the world. Ship-owners and ship-masters who hire sea labor in Bergen or Fiume or in the Orient would all be under the necessity of guaranteeing the higher rate of wage before they left the home port, in order to be reasonably sure of the crew until the return. Thus again might the American be brought back to the sea through the equalization of wages between American and foreign vessels. In other words, Professor Farnam showed the seamen's act to be in the main a piece of sound National policy of the first order. One clear expert note like that, followed as it was by keen discussion on the part of men who knew the sea, is worth reams of accelerated *ex parte* publicity of the sort to which the country has so long grown wearily accustomed.

The most frequent and compelling topic was, of course, the war. It penetrated nearly every programme. And the papers and discussions were complements of one another in many fields. While the need of national efficiency and preparedness was frequently emphasized, there were telling blows struck, on the other hand, at the selfish nationalist spirit which is leading the peoples of the world on into the blackness of darkness. And Goethe's cry that "above the nations is humanity" was again and again re-echoed.

Nationalism and internationalism in every gathering were brought face to face. If one speaker declared that the real cause of the great war and of great wars is the struggle for the trade routes, his critic demanded the internationalizing of the trade routes. If one speaker advocated preparation for war, the next advocated the elimination of the causes of war. Let the larger and more advanced nations give up something to the growing nations. And, among the societies which were engaged with our own definite problems, it was difficult to tell which aroused the more genuine enthusiasm, the strong note of powerful and efficient nationality or the note of international co-operation.

I must take space to speak of one illuminating reflection of Elihu Root. He was speaking of the chief weakness of international law. Breaches of international obligation are now treated as we treat torts under civil procedure, as private wrongs, which affect only the nation injured and the nation inflicting the injury. They must be regarded in the future rather as violations after the analogy of the criminal law, when the collective community acts at once upon its own initiative to punish the wrong. Hereafter, violations of law which threaten the peace and order of the community of nations must be deemed to be a legal injury to every nation, and the community of nations must act to prevent or punish the wrong. What a rational analysis and vindication of Roosevelt's instinctive feeling about Belgium! The blow at Belgium was a blow at the peace and order of the whole community of nations, and international law finds its sound basis in the Roosevelt instinct of right. The sword-thrust at Belgium was a sword-thrust at the United States of America, and should have been reckoned as such. Once more the healthy and profound instinct of Roosevelt, the man of action, is belatedly acclaimed in the councils of the experts.

With now and then a jarring opinion, the prevailing judgment of the men of insight in Washington was that the war would be followed by a burst of democracy and of human betterment throughout the world. And if that be so, then international co-operation and international sanction are soon to become something more than the figments of idealism. "For autocracy can protect itself by arbitrary power, but the people can protect themselves only by the rule of law."

FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT.

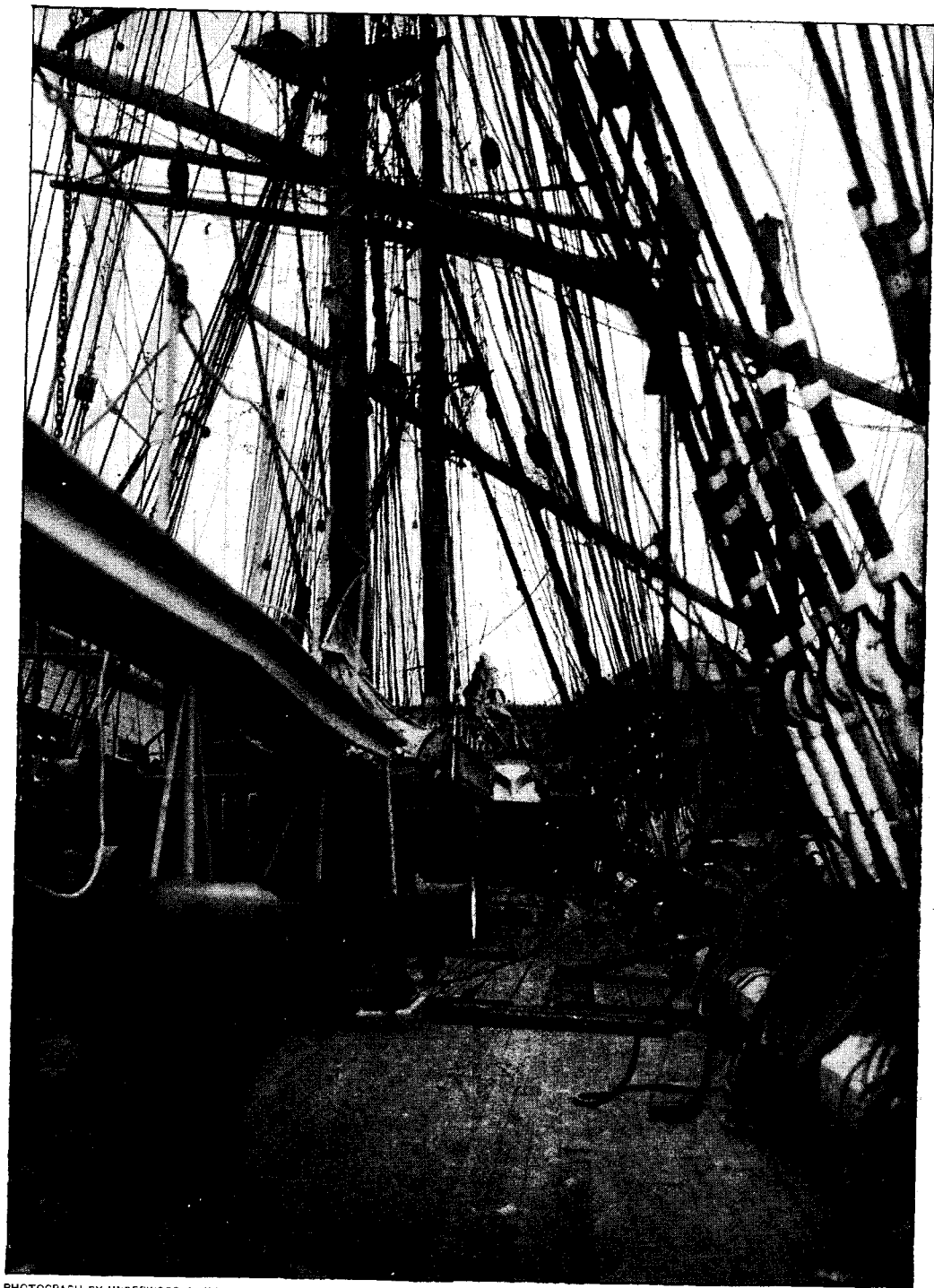
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, WARDEN *AD INTERIM* OF SING SING PRISON

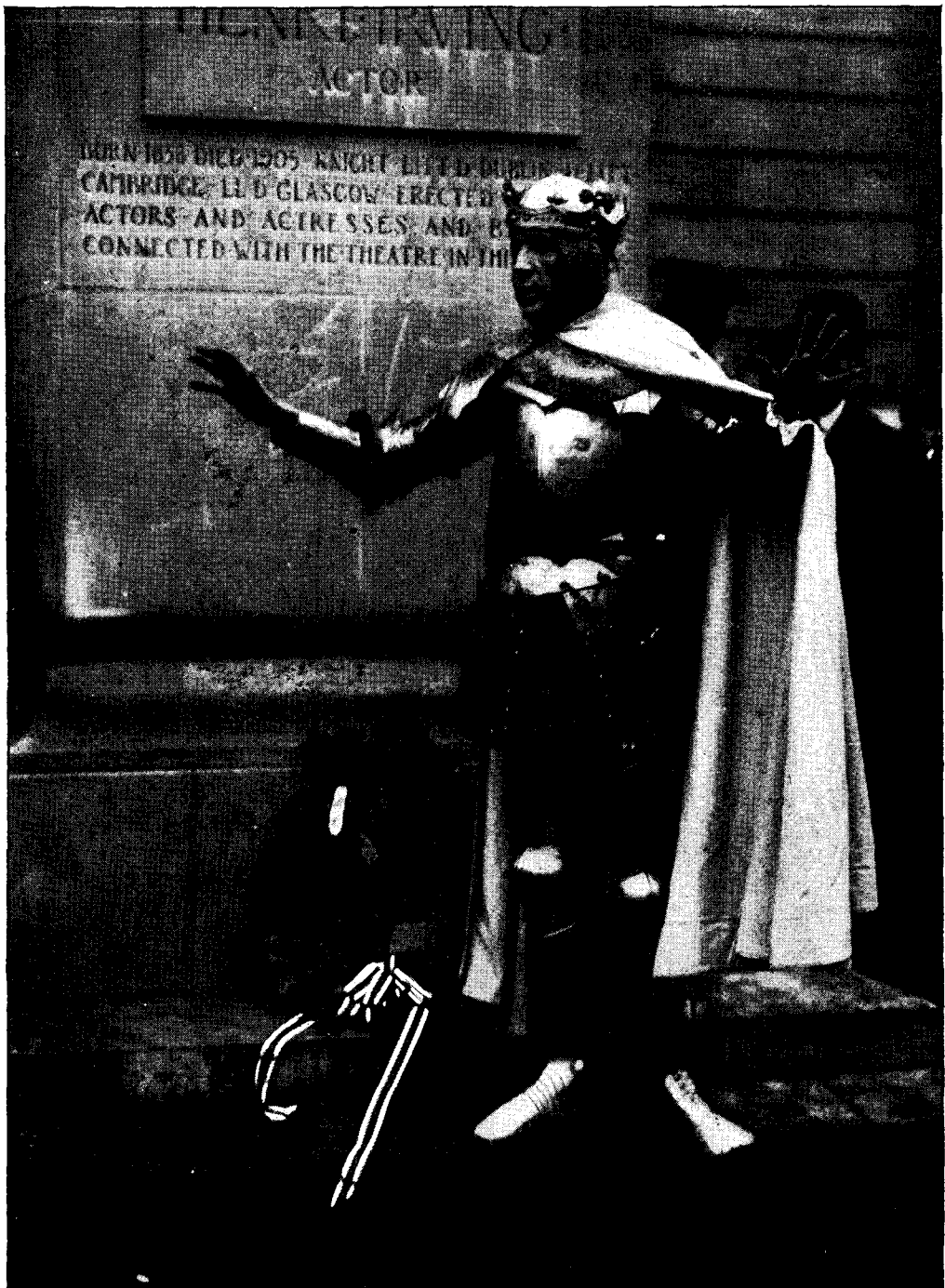
Dr. Kirchwey is widely known as a publicist, a sociologist, and an advocate of prison reform. As a result of the machinations against Warden Osborne, which have ended in the indictment of the Warden and the removal from office of the State Superintendent of Prisons, Dr. Kirchwey has become the actng Warden of Sing Sing Prison



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A SCENE IN NEW YORK HARBOR THAT WILL CHEER THE "OLD SALT"

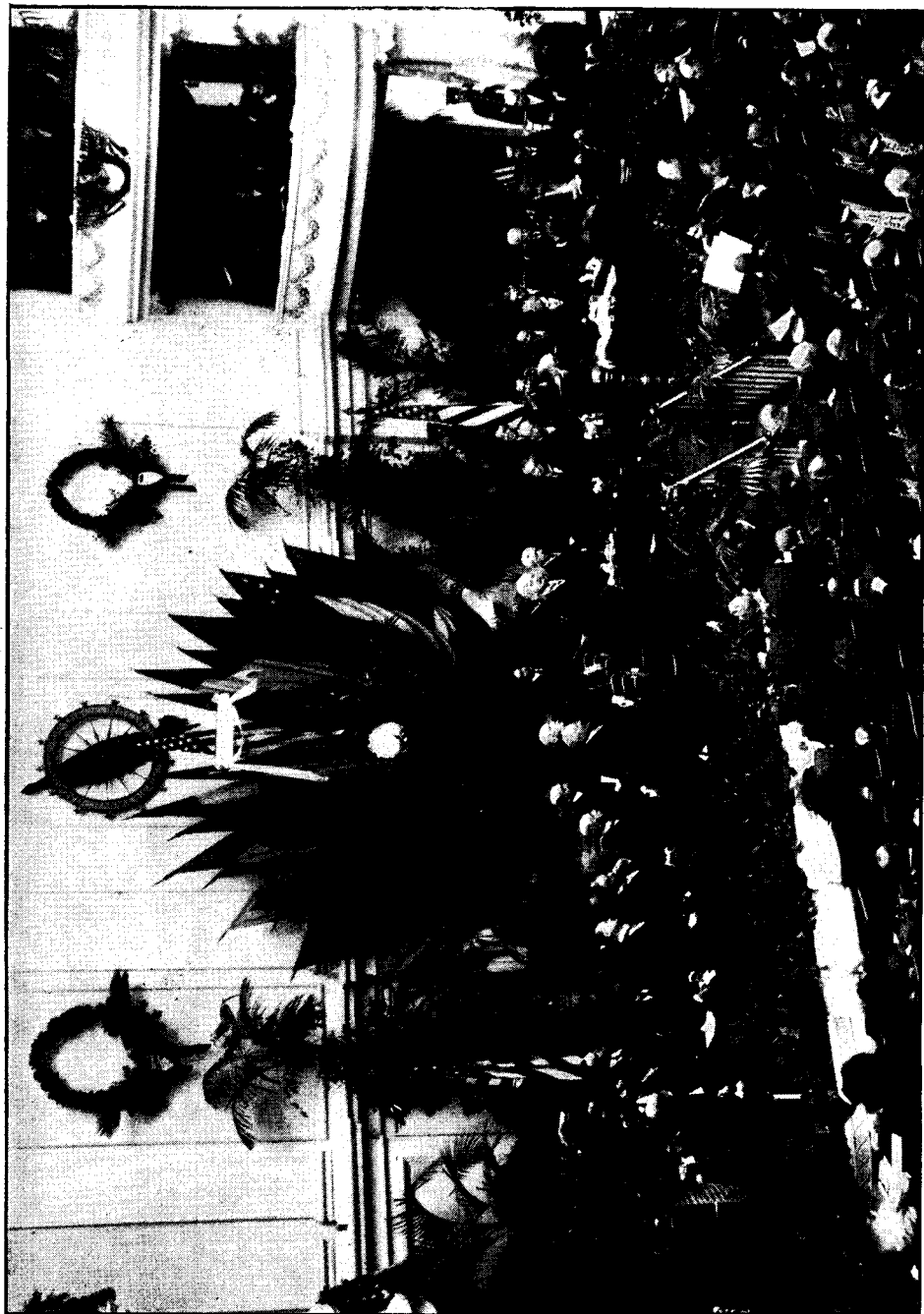
This striking picture of the deck of a type of vessel that is less seldom seen than formerly, shows effectively the mass of cordage, tackle, etc., of an old-fashioned "square rigger." Many of these vessels have again been brought into service because of the unprecedented demand for freight-carriers at the present time. The picture will especially appeal to readers of "Two Years Before the Mast" and other stirring old-time books about the sea



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

AN AUTHOR-ACTOR STIRS UP ENGLISH PATRIOTISM

The picture shows Mr. Norman Wrightson, author of the anti-invasion plays "Wake up, England!" and "Kultur," making an address on the war from the base of the Henry Irving statue in London. As will be seen, he appears "in armor bright" to bring home to his hearers the memory that their ancestors who won and kept England for them were of fighting blood.



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THE PAN-AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS

Vice-President Marshall is seen on the platform delivering his address of welcome to the assembled delegates in the Pan-American Union Building at Washington, at the opening session of the Congress. See special correspondence on this subject on another page



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

SERVIANS SEEKING SAFETY IN ALBANIA

The scene shown above has been a frequent one during the retreat of the Servians from their own country into the mountainous regions of Albania and Montenegro. These "dreadful marches" have been punctuated with the groans of the wounded and the cries of those who from exhaustion have fallen out of the ranks in this *débâcle* of a nation



MAKING A GROUP PICTURE OF POLISH JEWS FOR THE GERMAN IDENTIFICATION RECORDS



PHOTOGRAPHS FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

MOTHERS AND BABIES IN NORTHERN FRANCE BEFORE THE CAMERA

PHOTOGRAPHING THE INHABITANTS OF THE INVADIED COUNTRIES

The Germans, with their customary thoroughness and devotion to system, are reported to be engaged in making a register, both written and photographic, of the inhabitants of the countries, or parts of countries, which they are now occupying as armies of invasion. This register will be consulted as a means of identification when passports are to be issued to those who desire to change their abode, or in other cases when identification is desired. Hundreds of photographers are said to be employed in this work



PHOTOGRAPH FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE NEW BRITISH CHIEF OF STAFF, SIR WILLIAM ROBERT ROBERTSON

General Sir William Robert Robertson, by virtue of his appointment as Chief of Staff, becomes one of the four men who may be said to rule Great Britain's military operations. These four men are commonly ascribed to the four divisions of the United Kingdom—General Robertson to England, General Sir Douglas Haig, in command on the Continent, to Scotland, Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, to Ireland, and Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, to Wales. As a matter of fact, Lord Kitchener, though born in Ireland, is of English parentage. Lloyd George, though Welsh by descent, was born in England, and General Robertson, though born in England, has plainly a Scottish name

THE NATIONS AT WAR

I—RUSSIA'S REFUGEES

BY GREGORY MASON

N EAR Moscow, on a siding of the railway that runs from Moscow to Warsaw through Smolensk, was a string of thirteen freight cars, the short, chunky Russian kind—barely half as long as the American—looking as flimsy, top-heavy, and unwieldy as houseboats on wheels. No locomotive was tied to the string, and from the windward side, where the cars were white-washed by the biting blizzard that had already stopped all traffic with its drifted barricades, they had the desolate look of stranded empties. But the leeward door of each car was open a few inches, permitting the egress of odors that told any one who chanced to pass that the big rolling boxes were loaded with human freight, closely packed and long on the journey.

I pushed the door of one car back and looked in. At first in the semi-gloom nothing was visible, but gradually, against a crack in the opposite car wall that let through a streak of gray light with a ribbon of snow that rustled as it fell on the straw-covered floor, there grew the dull silhouette of two old women, who sat facing each other in the straw, laboriously pounding corn into flour in a big earthen bowl between them.

The young Pole who was with me climbed into the car and probed its recesses with a spear of light from a pocket flash-lamp. The old women stopped pounding to lift toward us wrinkled faces that expressed fear and hate when the tiny searchlight was turned on their dim, blinking eyes. Another pair of hags in a far corner, propped against a bale of hay and bound together like Siamese twins in a brown horse-blanket, moved their eyes feebly, but nothing more. They were paralyzed. A score of children that had been huddled here and there in the straw in twos and threes for warmth's sake came slowly to life and crowded around us, lifting a ring of wan, emaciated little faces. Three, too feeble to stand, sat up and stared at the strange light. The bodies of four small babies moved not at all—were, in fact, lifeless.

These people were refugees from a rural part of Poland, made homeless by the Russian military decree which ordered the destruction of all buildings and the removal of

all civilians from the rearward path of the Muscovite army as it fell back before the battering attacks of the Germans from Warsaw to Dwinsk. For ten days these four old women and twenty-seven children had been in that car, with no fire, few warm clothes, and only a little dried meat, corn flour, and water to sustain life in them. This the meager fare had failed to do in the case of the four youngest. Since they had been herded into that cold box like cattle by soldiers at the station to which they had driven or walked from their blazing homes, they had been moved eastward daily in the joggling car, which traveled slowly and by fits and starts, unvisited by any one, not knowing their destination, and now too low in mind and body to care.

The two old creatures who were paralyzed when they had been dumped into the car were now apparently dying; several of the children swayed with weakness as they stood, clutching at the biscuits and sweet chocolate which we drew from our pockets. Five of them were grandchildren of one of the paralytics, three designated one of the wrinkled flour-makers by the Polish equivalent of "granny," but none of the others knew where their parents were, and six of them had forgotten their own family names or had never known them.

The other twelve cars were like this one except that all of them had at least two or three—and usually six or seven—feeble, crackly-voiced old men with their complement of women and children, and one contained three young fellows of twenty who had probably smuggled themselves into the car and who cringed when my Polish interpreter lunged on them with his rapier of light and retreated into a corner where two cows stood with necks crossed in affection. These youths knew they had no business in that car, for even in the chaos of retreat the word had been passed among the civilian refugees: "Women, children, and old men first in the cars; young men can walk." But there have not been enough cars even for the weak, the very young, and the very aged, and thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, have found their graves along the

slushy, muddy roads they were following toward Petrograd and Moscow from the occupied provinces of Poland and the Baltic. These people in the freight cars at least had had transportation and a crude kind of shelter. But of the two million refugees who are overcrowding Moscow and Petrograd, to the great detriment of the health average of the two Russian capitals, many thousands came there several hundred weary miles on foot. And others, less determined or weaker, are still straggling in or are lingering by the way, some of the latter dying and some finding shelter in small towns between the twin big cities and the front.

Some estimates place the number of Russian refugees at from ten to fifteen million; thirteen million is the estimate of the Tatiana Committee, one of the most influential relief organizations in Russia, named after the second daughter of the Czar, who is its honorary head. By race the refugees are principally Poles, Jews, Letts, and Lithuanians, but they come from all ranks and stations of life, rich and poor alike, now all poor, thrown from their homes with nothing but the clothes on their bodies by the grim chances of war.

In times of peace and prosperity the sudden impoverishment of such a large mass of people would tax the relief and charity of Russia to the limit; but now, when all food prices are from one hundred to three hundred per cent higher than before the war—when even the well-to-do have difficulty to get enough bread, sugar, and coal—it is inevitable that thousands of these homeless ones should starve and freeze to death. Thousands have already suffered this fate, but hundreds of thousands, perhaps a million or more, will die this way before spring unless relief comes quickly and bountifully from abroad, for Russia cannot cope with the emergency alone. Unless Russia's allies or neutrals begin at once to pour into Russia a stream of food to fill the stomachs of these hungry, homeless ones, this will be the bitterest winter in Russian history, a winter whose horrors will far transcend the terrible winter of 1812 when Napoleon ravaged Poland and sacked Moscow.

Great Britain, who is holding up some of her weaker allies in many ways, sweeping mines from the White Sea for Russia, and with France bolstering the remnant of the Belgian army in Flanders, is doing much to alleviate the suffering of Russia's refugees by unofficial action. The Great

Britain to Poland Fund, organized and supported by such prominent Britons as Lady Byron, Viscount Bryce, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Rosebery, and the Lord Mayor of London, at the instance of Princess Bariatinsky, who is better known as the famous Russian actress, Madame Yavorska, is feeding between 4,000 and 7,000 refugees daily at Petrograd, Moscow, Minsk, and at several small towns close to the front.

The Petrograd "Feeding Point" is a long, hastily built shed of unfinished lumber a stone's-throw from the Warsaw station. This site was well selected, for the long stone railway station, open at both ends like an aviation hangar, is the center of refugee population in the Czar's city. Not only were several hundred homeless men, women, and children sleeping on the cold stone floors of the draughty station, but other hundreds were lying about in odd corners here and there, in empty trucks and freight cars, lying within a few feet of where the crowded refugee train had left them, with no hope or ambition to make them move on. Still other hundreds, more fortunate than these, were sheltered in three sheds, similar to the "Refugees' Restaurant" in their unfinished board construction, which had been built by the Government. Each of these sheds, about thirty by sixty feet in dimensions, housed between two and three hundred persons. This crowding was made possible by the presence of platforms built one above another in triple or quadruple deck "nests" about the room, where people of both sexes and of all ages slept, cooked and ate such food as they could beg, and lay all day long with expressionless, bulging eyes, half stupefied in the stifling stench of the place.

Twice a day a line formed before the door of the feeding station of such persons as were known to have no private food supply, and when the door opened they surged in, getting brass tickets at the threshold which each one exchanged in the far end of the room for a large square piece of Russian *chorny khleb*—black bread—and a steaming bowl of good old English porridge served to them by the bustling ladies of the British Colony. Only enough were admitted at a time to fill the double row of board tables, yet every day from 1,000 to 1,400 were fed.

It was interesting to stand at the elbow of the buxom, indefatigably good-natured English lady who wielded the porridge spoon and watch the long, hungry file which melted away

toward the tables when it reached the tall, bottomless urn that held the fragrant, steaming cereal. First came a dozen boys and girls who had lost their parents but not the irresistible gayety of hungry youth in the presence of food. They took their bread and porridge without even a mumbled "*Spas-siba*"—thanks—and shouldered each other for seats at the tables. Then came a blind old man led by his two grandsons. His thanks were pathetically profuse. Next another graybeard, carrying an ivory cane and wearing a handsome fur coat, the only indications of his recent high station in provincial society except the unmistakable reserve and dignity of gentility. After him was a handsome Lett, who had been a station agent in Courland till his station was dynamited in the Russian retreat. None of the children gave any thanks for the food; in fact, hardly any one did except the very old. The attitude of the others seemed to be that of people who were getting only a small part of their just due. Perhaps that was because they may not have realized that they were being fed by England, not by Russia, and toward Russia all of them were bitter, even those who lived in the shelters the Government had built. This bitterness was indicated by the refusal of most of them to accept work proffered them by provincial or municipal officials.

Their attitude is that, inasmuch as the Government has deliberately wiped out their homes and destroyed their means of livelihood, it is the Government's duty to support them in comfortable idleness. They seem to feel that it is adding insult to injury to ask them to begin over again in a new environment and work for their living. I asked a young Lettish railway man, living in one of the board barracks near the Warsaw station, why he had refused an offer of employment in the railway yards hard by.

"Why should I work for Russia?" he asked, bitterly. "Russia has taken from me my pretty home, my good job, and my wife and two children, who died on the road in that awful blizzard recently. Why should I work for Russia?"

"But you will starve if you do not," I suggested.

"*Nichevo*!"—it doesn't matter—he muttered, in gloomy resignation.

The majority of the refugees feel the way this man does. I do not refer to the refugees who left their homes voluntarily through fear of the advancing Germans, but to that greater

number who were forced to leave by the compulsion of their own Government, which deliberately destroyed their homes as a military measure. Every Russian, even the military officers who were responsible for this policy of destruction, now realizes that the adoption of that policy was one of the greatest mistakes Russia has made during the war. For it has cost her the support of a large and important body of Letts, Poles, Jews, and Lithuanians. The theory was that to leave large masses of civilians behind the forward-pushing German lines would provide Germany with a large number of spies, as well as with sustenance for its armies. To some extent, too, it was believed that buildings left standing in the Russian retreat might serve as protection and cover for German artillery. So everything was destroyed—farm-houses, barns, churches, schools, orchards, even haystacks. Whenever the Russian lines retracted before the unbearable pounding of the terrible German guns, they left only a desert for the Kaiser's men to cross.

War is not a parlor game. A great deal of destruction is inevitable in the nature of war, and sometimes in wars of the past commanders have deliberately laid waste large sections of beautiful country to handicap the enemy, and the results have justified this destruction. A ten per cent social and economic loss is gladly borne by a nation at war for a ninety per cent military gain. Perhaps a commander is even justified in inflicting a forty-nine per cent social and economic loss on his country for a fifty-one per cent military gain. But the deliberate ravaging of Poland and the Baltic provinces was a ninety per cent social and economic loss for a ten per cent military gain—something that is never justifiable.

It is very difficult for a general to remember that there are other factors in war besides the military factors, and we must not be too severe in our criticism of the Russian General Staff because it saw only the ten per cent military gain and overlooked the ninety per cent political and economic loss. The order which made a desert of thousands of square miles of the best territory in Russia was countermanded, anyway, but not until the harm had been done. But now the only concern of Russia and of the friends of Russia should be to confine the damage to the irremediable minimum. To that end it is necessary to handle the great streams of refugees intelligently. The influx into Petro-

grad and Moscow should be stopped. Relief organizations should go out from these cities toward the front, stop the refugees where they meet them, and there make provision for them to spend the winter. To this purpose hundreds and thousands of sleeping barracks and soup kitchens like those in Petrograd must be built along the provincial highways. Thousands of these people will never again see the familiar environment where they have lived all their lives, even if Russia regains her lost provinces. But more of them will be able to return eventually, and there will be less suffering among them this winter, if they are stopped where they are and are not allowed to flow into the two Russian capitals, so terribly overcrowded already, and into the colder country north and east of Petrograd and Moscow.

I understand that this policy has been adopted by the Tatiana Committee. But Russia alone cannot handle the situation; she must have generous aid from outside.

A young American, Mr. Thomas Whittemore, who was in Sofia when Bulgaria went to war, left there, declining an invitation of the Queen of Bulgaria to head a branch of the Red Cross, because his sympathies were

with the Allies, and is now in Russia working out a programme for the relief of Russia's refugees under the auspices of the Tatiana Committee. He is out on the roads in an automobile constantly, meeting the incoming human flotsam and jetsam of war, and his recommendations will have the weight of authority. America has become a synonym for service in France, Belgium, and Serbia, but thus far America has done next to nothing for Russia. Shall America, who responded so splendidly to the appeal of Belgium and Serbia, ignore the needs of the stricken people of Poland and the Baltic provinces, whose sufferings are greater than the sufferings of the Belgians, certainly as great as the sufferings of the Servians?

There are many pathetic things in war—soldiers wasted with disease, blasted in arm and leg with explosive shell, withered in eye and lung by the terrible gas; but none of these things is so moving as the sight of little children, homeless, parentless, and with clothing worn and torn by travel, sleeping in empty freight cars, cold railway stations, or on the very blizzard-swept sidewalks of Russian cities, and slowly dying because they have no food.

II—THE ENGLISHMAN IN AMERICA¹

BY JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK IN ENGLAND

THE stage Englishman is still with us, a caricature of the Victorian era; slightly modified, it is true, but still with the drawl, the monocle, and the general make-up and behavior of the "silly ass." The caricature of the Yankee of the same period has now completely disappeared from the English stage. No longer do we see our countryman represented as a tall, gaunt person of unrestrained movements, wearing a big slouch hat, one or both of his trouser legs tucked into high boots, and a "billy-goat" whisker on his chin—a man who talked slowly, very much through his nose; said "I guess" or "I reckon" at the beginning of every sentence; chewed tobacco all the time, and spat vigorously in moments of deliberation or excitement.

His place has been taken by the impudent

hustler for business or the superman of industry and finance who juggles millions and ruins his competitors, maintaining in all great crises a cold, immobile face and relentless air. In late productions this American superman has been circumvented in his villainy by his son, who is under the spell of some clear-eyed, unsophisticated girl, and under this spell sees the light, defies the "Governor," and works a deal on the stock market whereby he nets a million or so at his father's expense, much to the indignation but secret admiration of the parent, and all is well.

In the stage characterization of type, caricatures though they may all be, the English are ahead of us. We lag woefully behind, for the man represented by our stage Englishman is nearly as extinct in England as the dodo. He was in fashion in that country many years ago—an aristocratic dandy who posed as an idiot, but who, as a rule,

¹See in connection with this article Mr. Whelpley's "The American in England" in the preceding issue of *The Outlook*.—THE EDITORS.

was not really so idiotic as he looked when it came to a pinch. He was the forerunner of the English "nut," who has as yet scarcely made his bow to an American audience. The lamented Dan Daly and, later, Lawrance D'Orsay are largely responsible for the "silly ass" idea of a good-class Englishman which prevails in many parts of the United States to this day, and competent English actors, such as Lionel Walsh, find it profitable when here to perpetuate the type, though, as I say, with certain refinements, which, however, do not go far towards destroying our illusion.

The day when every Englishman was supposed by Americans to drop an "h" on Holborn and pick it up at Islington is past, but we still fail to visualize him as he is, and, outside of a small group of internationalized Americans, we have not yet been able to put him in his proper place in our American lexicon of humanity. This is rather strange in a way, for, if ever there was a fixed quantity in a nationality, it is the English character. When abroad, he absolutely refuses to be different from what he is at home; he will not blend. He is not like us, for when we travel abroad we oftentimes make painful efforts to please, to do as the Romans. But not so with our English visitor; he is himself, whether you "jolly well like it" or not, and, if you don't, he is not hurt; he just wonders why everything and everybody is so peculiar excepting himself.

I was talking to a great English financier and promoter once, and I remarked, interrogatively: "The relations between the American and English peoples are excellent?" "Yes," he said; "why shouldn't they be? But what will they be to-morrow? We are always the same, but you blow hot and cold, and sometimes it is difficult to understand." I have often wondered if this was true, and have come to the conclusion that it might have been true when it was said, which was before this war; but not now, when English nerves are rather more exposed than ever before, and, as it is doubtful if they will acquire a new covering in our time, we must work from new premises in judging our English cousins.

Speaking of cousins reminds me that Lord Reading, in his speech at a great dinner given to him in New York, said: "We came to you as strangers and were received as relatives." Americans, always conscious of the humorous side of things, and somewhat irreverent, could not forbear a smile, for the reception

given to relatives, in America at least, would not always be of the same character as that experienced by Lord Reading. He was received with distinguished consideration, vast hospitality, and went away with \$500,000,000 of our good money. What an enviable thing to be a relation of Americans under such circumstances!

There is really a good deal to be said for Lord Reading's summary, however, for, after all, have not we Americans always received Englishmen as though they were relatives? We have been frank, familiar, and critical. Is not that exactly the reception a relative would expect, and does it not mean that out of all the foreign nations we hold the English to be closest akin? We are never so frank, familiar, or critical with visitors of other nationalities. We naturally assume the right with English people, and it must be because we feel that they are nearer in blood to ourselves than other foreigners; hence we can be severe and rather illiberal in our judgments, resenting at the same time any criticism from them—a well-recognized attitude of relationship.

We have one advantage of the English in our mutual attempts to become better acquainted, for a larger number of the people of authority in the life of that country visit us, in proportion to the total immigration, than is the case with the American movement outward. England is overrun each normal year with a bewildering army of about three hundred thousand Americans, some speaking English, some American, some a dialect, and many with German, French, Italian, or other accents, and representing in form and color practically every race of humanity in the world. Many are rich, few seem to be poor, and at times they crowd the streets of English towns almost to the exclusion of the natives. It is natural that the English idea of an American is affected largely by whatever section of this invading army he meets, and, if he meets none at all, but simply sees them *en masse*, he may be forgiven a bewilderment which often expresses itself in a rather petulant complaint of the lot of us.

On the other hand, the Englishmen who come to America, excepting as immigrants, who are swallowed up in the vastness of the American community before we have had an opportunity to look them over, are few and conspicuous. They belong to the gentry, the law, or the world of finance. Sometimes they combine the three in one, and, while of noble family, may have taken to the law, and

in that capacity are representing financial interests. In earlier days many of the English "younger sons," having failed to make themselves useful at home and become an annoyance to their families, were sent to America with the vague idea that "out there" they would redeem themselves and their involved fortunes. Some of them did it by making an impression upon an American heiress; others had to be "redeemed" by their relatives in England before they could again take ship for "home."

Then, again, we have the pleasure of flying visits from some of England's best product, her cultured and finished gentlemen, who have come among us with sympathetic interest, and a pathetically earnest desire to understand us and all our social problems within the short space of their visit. We have admired their culture and their finish, we have been charmed with their personalities, and we have tried, oh, so hard, to tell them all about ourselves, and have sent them away with a jumbled mass of information which, when we see it put together later for the benefit of the Britishers at home, as was sometimes the case, we have wondered who got hold of them while they were here and why in the world they had reason to imagine the American people to be as they drew the picture. We remember walking around them in circles while they were here and with unchecked enthusiasm beating ourselves to pieces against their imperturbable and polished rudeness, which we wished we could imitate, but recognized our limitations.

It was Shaw who said that a well-bred Englishman could be ruder to a person he considered not of his own class than any one in the world; and it is this unconscious rudeness, for it is thoroughly unconscious, that drives Americans frantic with helpless rage in their efforts to be friendly with a man they admire enormously as a fine product of an old civilization, even in this very quality against which they dash their conversational efforts. These Englishman rarely give Americans in any number a real chance to get acquainted with them, hence there is no extensive common experience upon which all Americans can draw for the purpose of creating the image of a really typical modern English gentleman.

They are not gregarious among strangers, they do not sit about hotel lobbies, assemble in groups at New York bars, travel about in conducted tourist parties, and they have a

way of going about their business, be it pleasure or work, and leaving almost before we are aware they have been among us. In brief, they seldom give us all a chance to look them over on terms of any intimacy, so we can compare notes with our friends and formulate our ideas or our likes or dislikes. All we get is a fleeting impression, the sound of a different intonation of voice, and they are gone. So then we go to vaudeville or to musical comedy and fill in the blank places in our thinly sketched picture of an Englishman from the caricatures we find there presented by those who are unable to break away from a theatrical tradition which has held the producers in its grip from the beginning.

The truth of the matter is, we do not really know the modern Englishman very well, for the simple reason that we never get a chance to know him; and yet in our desire to fill out the sum of our knowledge of all humanity we improvise upon the bare outline we have achieved and call it a perfect visualization. It is a work of imagination and art rather than a correct characterization, and, while it resembles faintly the genuine article, it is not a living image.

The bewilderment of Englishmen in their efforts to "size up" Americans arises from a confusion of classes, or, rather, a lack of well-defined class which is presented to their view. The confusion of Americans in their attempts to summarize the Englishman comes from a lack of sufficient knowledge of the English social structure to place the particular Englishman they may meet where he belongs, for, while the flag may fly over them all, the North and South Poles are boon companions compared to the distance that separates the well born from the lowly born in the British Isles. This separation may not be a physical fact, or even intellectual. It is in the spirit of the mind, and its torch is lit in the eye of the man. You can see this same mysterious and mystic emblem in the eyes of men of all races and of all outward conditions, but its presence is the unfailing index of a soul born in the upper strata; and a long heritage of power and attainment has put it into the eyes of a well-born Englishman.

It bespeaks a spiritual remoteness that makes for a reserve of personality which remains when all other semblance of superiority has disappeared. When the man who has this mark of the spirit of class in his eyes betrays his heritage and falls from high estate, it is still there, but added to it is a flame of

self-knowledge that sears the mind of one who sees and understands. It is only the Englishman of good class who mingles freely with organized society abroad, for the class instinct is so strong in the English make-up that the others, no matter where they may be, seek their like.

The American confines himself to no particular strata of society. If he is adaptable, as he generally is, and outwardly things are equal, he can insure his reception on a common footing in castle or hovel. He can reflect his surroundings with such skill as to make the question of his social origin controversial at least. He may not speak the language of those he is with without a spiritual accent that betrays him to a certain extent; but an Englishman of one class is a marked man in another. He cannot speak the language, and he is happiest when with those among whom he was born. The British merchant, so born, who comes to America seeks American merchants; the banker likewise lives among his banking friends; the workingman finds those who also labor; it is only the English gentleman, whatever he may be doing at the time, be he merchant, banker, lawyer, engineer, or idler, who finds himself at home anywhere and with anybody, for, being spiritually a crustacean, he has his home always with him.

Much reason is there, therefore, for American inability to grasp the Englishman as he is at home, in all his activities as a nation rather than as an individual. The Government has for generations been in the hands of the well born. It is only recently that other classes have succeeded in making a dent in the imperturbability of the upper class, which has so long claimed the right as well as held the power to govern. Certain traits are common to the British. We term them of bulldog breed, heavy rather than vivacious, completely satisfied with their own institutions when compared with those of other peoples. These characteristics we have sensed, but we can no more sketch an Englishman with a few strokes of the pen who would represent the nation even fairly well, as you can with some other nationalities, than you could teach the British public to give an orderly and unquestioned obedience to a set of rules for private conduct. The country of the greatest personal liberty must put up with the greatest individualism in the conduct of its affairs. This is what has been

given to the people as a whole by the ruling class in return for a continuance of power, and it is the secret of such continuance in the face of a constitutional form of government which verges upon a democracy.

We Americans will get to know more about Englishmen because of this war. English society is being shaken to its foundations by its trials. Fully half of this generation of English gentlemen will be killed before this war is over. Nearly seven thousand of them have gone already. Many of them filled useful places in the nation's life, and from social ranks below must come others to take their places. A dwindling aristocracy is losing its hold upon the government of the masses and all forms of national activity, and it will never regain its former position. The people—*i.e.*, the middle class and the working class—are in the saddle, and the conflict to come is between these two classes for supremacy. The middle class will win for the time, and all the middle-class virtues and vices will become rampant. The English aristocracy is unhorsed, but it is dying a glorious death worthy of all traditions.

Their sacrifice will probably be in vain, for a bourgeois-governed England will steer a different course from the England of yesterday. Cold reason may tell us it is best for all that it should be so, for we hold this to be a phase of the evolution of man; but the world is loser through the passing of all these thousands of the gentlemen of England.

In the meantime, if we Americans wish to inform ourselves for future use as to the Englishman in general, we must dally no longer with that picturesque figure once to be met with at America's most exclusive social functions, perhaps in the wilds of the Rockies hunting big game, or living in a cabin on the Western plains, and when not tending the cattle gleaning "a bit of the old flavor" from the columns of an ancient copy of "Punch."

We must seek the English merchant, banker, manufacturer, salesman, or skilled mechanic. You will find him easier of approach when abroad than was his aristocratic predecessor, and we may be able in time because of this to accumulate a number of generalizations which will describe the English nation with reasonable accuracy—something we could not do when the well-born minority directed the destinies of all the people.

London, England.

THE LIQUOR TRADE VERSUS KANSAS STATISTICS

BY ARTHUR CAPPER, GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

A reader of The Outlook recently sent us an advertisement clipped from the Boston "Globe" entitled "Facts vs. Kansas." This advertisement was printed at the instance of the Brewers' Association of Massachusetts. It purported to give the statistics concerning morality and morals, paupers and insane, divorce rates and finance, and the consumption of liquors in the State of Kansas. Kansas, as every one knows who has followed recent discussions of the liquor question at all closely, has been made a football of prohibition arguments. Prohibitionists and liquor men have each sought to draw from the experience of that State proof as to the justice of their respective contentions. The advertisement to which we have referred was a typical statement of the liquor side of the question. We are glad to publish here a summary and an analysis of the arguments put forward by the liquor interests in this advertisement, from so authoritative a source as the Governor of Kansas himself.—THE EDITORS.

THE success of prohibition in Kansas has been so complete and conspicuous that the organized liquor interests of the country seem to feel it absolutely necessary to befool the reputation of that State. In attempting to do this they use false figures, and they so misuse true figures as to produce false impressions. An advertisement published in the Boston "Evening Globe" and in other Eastern papers, signed by Mr. Howard Noble and entitled "Facts vs. Kansas," is typical of this propaganda.

It is stated in this advertisement that Kansas, "instead of having a death rate of 7.5 per thousand, has a death rate of 10.6." I think that some prohibitionists have attributed a death rate of 7.5 to Kansas. This is incorrect, and the true rate at the last report is, as Mr. Noble states, 10.6. But, instead of admitting the excellent rank which this rate accords Kansas in the list of States, the advertisement continues with such unfair statements as this: "Twelve registration cities of Kansas have a rate higher than the average rate for the United States." The entire State of Kansas is registration area, and the rate for the entire State is certainly very far from "higher than the average for the United States." Why, then, does Mr. Noble select "twelve registration cities" to compare with the figures for the entire State? State figures are affected by rural as well as urban districts, and every one knows that the death rate is higher in cities than in the country. How absolutely unfair to compare the city rate of Kansas with the combined city and rural rate of other States!

This trick explains the apparently unfavorable Kansas homicide and suicide statistics used in this advertisement. These liquor propagandists, by eliminating the rural districts of Kansas, assign a rate of 123 violent deaths to the 100,000 and rank Kansas in the list of States by these figures, whereas in 1912, according to Dr. S. J. Crumbine, Secretary of the State Board of Health, the rate of deaths by violence in the *entire* State was only 60.8, and this includes both accidents and homicides. To carry the complaint further, they accord Kansas a suicide rate of 22 to the 100,000 on the basis of these leading cities only, whereas Dr. Crumbine is authority for the statement that in 1912 the proper figures for the *entire* State were only 12.2. Of course such trickery as this, if permitted, will allow them to make a comparative showing very unfavorable to this State. The unfairness of such a basis of comparison is perfectly plain.

If in this literature issued by the liquor men they want to set forth facts on which intelligent opinion may be formed, why does it not say in this connection that the death rate in Kansas as compared with all those causes of death in which alcohol prominently figures is in nearly every case below that of near-by States, and is in every single case below that of the registration area? Why, for instance, would it not illuminate the problem to say that, while the death rate in the registration area from cirrhosis of the liver was 14, in Kansas in 1912 it was only 7? Why not say that, while the death rate from violent deaths in the registration area was

91.2, in Kansas it was 60.8? It might even be well to bring out the fact that, while the death rate from homicide in the registration area was 6.6, the homicide rate in Kansas in 1912 was 4.8. It undoubtedly would be instructive to say that the death rate in the registration area from suicide was 16.2, and in Kansas in 1912 it was 12.2. The death rate from Bright's disease in the registration area was 87.5, and in Kansas only 55.4; for pneumonia in the registration area 89.2, and in Kansas in 1912 it was 45.6.

THE MORALS OF KANSAS YOUTH

In another particular this advertisement gives truth which is not the whole truth, or even half the truth. It is asserted that nineteen States have a lower rate of juvenile delinquency than Kansas. Some of these States have no juvenile delinquents at all, because they have no system to deal with them. Some States have juvenile delinquency systems in an undeveloped state; some have an extensive parole system; in some States the children are spanked for offenses that put them in charge in other States. For instance, in Nebraska there is a percentage of discharge and parole of 51, as compared with a percentage of 39 in Kansas, and obviously this would affect greatly a comparison between these two States. Why should not these liquor people say in this connection that North Dakota, a prohibition State, has the lowest juvenile delinquency rate in the West North Central Division of States? It is necessary for them to avoid marshaling *all* of the facts as carefully as a British grain ship must avoid the glint of a periscope.

DIVORCE, FINANCE, AND PROHIBITION

A very large number of States have a lower divorce rate than Kansas, because the divorce rate is uniformly lower in the East than in the West. Generally speaking, the States west of the Missouri River or west of the western line of Missouri and Iowa have a higher divorce rate, only Arkansas and Indiana of the more eastern States equaling the Western rate. Of the trans-Missouri States only five—Utah, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, and New Mexico—have a lower rate than Kansas. One of these, North Dakota, is a prohibition State, and in New Mexico the prevalence of the Catholic faith undoubtedly has a bearing on the case. With those exceptions, every State west of

the Missouri had in 1900 a higher divorce rate than Kansas.

In regard to this divorce question something further should be said. Divorce is not common among foreign-born citizens or among the population of our great industrial centers. Some women accept their daily beating uncomplainingly. In States where the population is largely native American, where women demand consideration on the part of their husbands, a rough tongue-lashing is very apt to result in a divorce.

Also, it is a very common trick for the liquor people to give Kansas a divorce rate based upon the ratio of divorces to the *married* population, and then to compare that rate with rates of other States secured on the basis of divorces to the *general* population. This trick is typical of the entire liquor propaganda.

THE MATTER OF SAVINGS

I am perfectly willing to admit that the number of savings bank depositors in Kansas is comparatively small. There is no savings banks law in the State and very few savings banks exist. But what is intended to be proved by asserting this? That the per capita wealth is low? Kansas is the richest State in the Union on the basis of per capita assessed valuation. Savings in Kansas, while large in the aggregate, have simply not resulted in the creation of a savings banks system. The building and loan system of the State is very strong, and this takes care of much of Kansas's savings. Interest rates are high, bonds of small denomination plentiful, and farm mortgages safe. This is the very simple explanation.

PAUPERS AND INSANE

We are told that 14 States had a lower pauper rate than Kansas. The sentence is not complete, or it would read, "and 33 have a higher pauper rate than Kansas." The advertisement says that Nebraska has only a slightly higher rate of pauperism than Kansas, but it does not bring out the fact that Nebraska had poorhouses in only 51 out of 92 counties, and that Kansas had poorhouses in 74 out of 105 counties.

A complete study of the question of pauperism furnishes one of the most amazing arguments for prohibition. For instance, if we take all the prohibition States and all the license States (and they are both so well scattered as to make a comparison fair), we

find that, on the basis of the Census of 1910, the paupers in the United States would number:

At rate for the continental United States.	88,319
If the rate in the license States prevailed throughout the country.....	108,808
If the rate in the prohibition States prevailed throughout the country.....	27,309
If the Kansas rate had prevailed throughout the country.....	22,819

The United States as a whole, according to the figures of the Census of 1910, had a poorhouse *commitment* rate of 96.3. The license States of the Union had a rate of 110 and the prohibition States a rate of 29.8.

We are also told that 24 States have a lower insanity rate than Kansas. If we compare Kansas with the entire West North Central Division, in which it is located, and the other States of that division, we find that the facts are as given below:

West North Central Division....	194	Iowa.....	241
North Dakota....	108	Nebraska.....	166
Minnesota.....	228	Missouri.....	187
South Dakota ...	148	Kansas.....	172

THE CONSUMPTION OF LIQUORS IN KANSAS

It is quite true, as asserted, that 90,000 quarts of liquor were imported into Topeka and Shawnee County, Kansas, in one month. Notice carefully that it was 90,000 *quarts*, not gallons. Kansas has a law requiring that all such importations shall be reported to the county clerk, and these figures, while not absolutely accurate, certainly account for every drop of liquor that came into the county during the month in question. This was a "top" month. Shipments seldom reach such a high figure.

But here is the meat of the matter: If Topekans had gratified their thirst during that month with a per capita consumption equal to that of the country as a whole, they would have consumed during that month more than 400,000 quarts of liquor! Any policy which reduces the consumption of liquor by three-fourths or more is certainly a great success. An investigation covering the entire State showed a per capita consumption of only 3.69 gallons annually as compared to a per capita consumption for the United States as a whole of 22 gallons.

WHAT THE WITNESSES SAY

I presume that it will be conceded that the people of Kansas are of average intelligence, that they are quite capable of judging for

themselves the effect of a State policy, and that they hold the welfare of their State in sufficient esteem to reject policies that are harmful. If prohibition is not a success, a veritable blessing to the business interests and social life of the State, why do ninety per cent of the people favor it?

The Governor of Kansas says prohibition is a great success.

Every State official who has spoken out says prohibition succeeds.

More than 700 editors and newspaper men of Kansas, in State convention, unanimously indorsed prohibition.

Every political party in Kansas favors the prohibition law.

No minister has ever opened his mouth in favor of return to license; neither has any school-teacher.

The President of Kansas Retailers says prohibition pays.

The President of the State Bankers' Association believes that prohibition is a tremendous asset to Kansas.

One hundred and sixty-six bankers have filed their testimony in favor of the law with the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and only six could be found in all the State who doubted the wisdom of this legislation.

The President of the Kansas Medical Society believes in prohibition.

The President of the Commercial Clubs of Kansas has said that prohibition has added real value to every acre of Kansas land.

The Supreme Court has testified in the following strong language to the benefits of the prohibition law:

The prohibitory law is well enforced throughout the State. It is as generally well enforced as any other criminal law. The enforcement of the law distinctly promotes social welfare and reduces to a minimum economic waste consequent upon the liquor traffic and allied evils. The saloon-keeper and his comrades have been excluded from effective participation in the politics of the State.

And to completely settle the question for all time, the Legislature of Kansas, not by a majority, but unanimously, passed a concurrent resolution at the last session, from which I quote the following:

Whereas, The liquor interests throughout the country, and those allied with them in their nefarious business, are publishing abroad, in form of paid advertisements in the newspapers, certain false and defamatory statements to the effect that prohibition in Kansas has caused

increase in crime, death rate, homicide, suicides, divorces, and juvenile delinquents; . . .

Resolved, That we, as representatives of the people of Kansas, hereby declare our allegiance to the cause of temperance, sobriety, and right living, as exemplified by the ultimate result of constitutional prohibition, and its enforcement in our midst, and that we are opposed to any

return to the domination of intoxicating liquors, and that no proposition looking to a resubmission of the prohibitory amendment, and that no law which has for its object the re-establishment of places for the sale of liquor anywhere in Kansas, will be given serious consideration, either by the Legislature or by any of its committees.

MUSIC AND THE WAR

BY FULLERTON L. WALDO

"He may be ankle-deep in dust or middle-deep in slime,
But Tommy with his mouth-organ he's at it all the time;
And when we march up Potsdam Street and goose-step
through Berlin,
Why, Tommy with his mouth-organ he'll play the army
in!"
—*Marching Song.*

IT was the performance of Auber's opera "Masaniello" (in which Pavlowa is now starring in this country as the "Dumb Girl of Portici") at Brussels, in 1830, that stirred the Belgian people to throw off the yoke of the Dutch. Dr. William Elliot Griffis describes the episode: "When the tenor had sung the passage in which the hero makes his appeal to revolt and hurls his anathemas against the alien conquerors, the audience was seized with an irrepressible enthusiasm. Rising in their seats, they sang the air over and over again in chorus. Then, rushing from the house and into the square, they shouted, 'Down with the Dutch! Down with the Ministers!'" And thus "music was the occasion of an outbreak of a war for freedom."

If Arthur O'Shaughnessy is right, and "three with a new song's measure can trample an empire down," what shall be the music to overthrow Germany's dominion in Belgium? "Tipperary"?

Beethoven's one opera, "Fidelio," had its first hearing in Vienna by officers who marched into the city in November, 1805, at the head of Napoleon's vanguard a week before the opera was given.

But to leave these classic episodes for modern instances—the Tommy in the trenches in this teeming hour yearns for a mouth-organ even as an Indian of the Andes longs for a Waterbury watch. I have seen the Servian soldier sitting on the red loam squeezing music out of bagpipes to an enthralled circle. Rudyard Kipling has thought it worth while to issue an impassioned appeal for music as

the first aid to the recruiting officer and the chief inspiration of footsore, weary regiments. Even the United States Government has advertised in a recruiting poster:

Men wanted for the United States Army. Special inducements offered to Pharmacists, MUSICIANS, Clerks, Bankers, Cooks, Barbers, Teamsters, Blacksmiths, and OTHER MECHANICS.

The matron of one British military hospital had a happy thought. She got a Scotch piper to play strathspeys and reels for a wounded Highlander who was low in his mind. The piper played far into the night. The next morning the Highlander was as bright as the King's shilling, but, according to the matron's honest confession to the doctor, "the other thirty patients have all had a serious relapse."

"The soul of a regiment," says Kipling, "is in its songs." Literary merit counts for little—the swing and the sentiment are everything. "Get Out and Get Under" was sung by the Colonials as they swirled into the trenches on the Gallipoli peninsula. I have heard a thousand Belgians together chanting "Tipperary" on English soil, at Folkestone. Of course that famous tune is wildfire wherever and whenever started; but by way of *hors d'œuvres* we have "O You Beautiful Doll!" and a choice lot of ragtime rubbish made in America.

The paucity of bands is eked out by all manner of weird contraptions in mushroom-growth, fly-by-night orchestras. Kettledrums, at the front, are fashioned of petrol cans, and fiddles of cigarette or cigar boxes. The gramophone quavers with Harry Lauder or Sousa's Band between the flowers and the fly-paper and the pennons in the rafters of many a hospital. Orchestras of mandolins live among Neapolitan soldiers, who are as

ready to twiddle the plectrum as to pull the trigger; a Belgian lieutenant sits down in a commandeered seaside hotel at La Panne and whangs a Liszt rhapsody or even a fragment of "Parsifal" out of the lacquer-shedding wreck of a piano. Pianos have even found their way into the trenches, to help out the harmonicas, the paper-covered combs, the ocarinas, the fifes, and the whistles; and even a tin can with stones in it is capable of making a joyful noise not far inferior to Paderewski's tonitruone (employed for his symphony) or Strauss's fearful and wonderful hecklephones and sarrusophones. As I write I have before me (I am pro-Ally!) a photograph of a group of German soldiers playing a home-made double-bass, a similarly improvised violin, an accordion, a mandola, a fife, and a *glockenspiel* that looks like the frame of a lacrosse stick with steel rods hung in the middle.

Strauss, by Imperial command, has arranged volumes of marching songs (not always singable) for the German soldiers. The great subscription editions of Bach, Handel, Beethoven, and Schubert published by a historic firm in Leipsic have, it has been reported, sacrificed their plates to the cannon of the house of Krupp.

Fritz Kreisler tells me he can think of nothing but the war. Those who have read his little book on life in the trenches will not wonder that for him it is the stuff that dreams are made of. Not all of the musical fraternity have understood how real was Kreisler's disability of a bruised nerve center in the thigh due to the glancing wound from a Cossack lance-tip at Lemberg in Galicia. "Vy should my son play?" asked Mischa Elman's father, with a shrug. "He vos not wounded!" I was with Madame Melba at a performance of "Daddy Long-Legs"—the first time she had seen a play since the war began—and with the Australasian fire shining out of tired eyes she told me that in ten concerts she made \$150,000 for the Red Cross. She got \$70,000 at one concert for the Poles, and \$40,000 at another for the Belgians. "My heart is breaking," she said, "but I thank God for giving me a talent which enables me to help our wounded soldiers." Moreover, she has compiled a gift-book to which Australian writers and artists have contributed, and the proceeds of

its sale go to the Belgian Relief Fund. A few days ago it was announced that Madame Melba had relinquished her Paris apartment that it might be used as a military hospital, and that her contributions for the relief of war sufferers amounted in all to \$200,000. The reason why Paderewski, in these wonderful lecture-recitals he is giving for his stricken country, plays Chopin is that Chopin's music seems to him to cry aloud to Heaven for the harried Poland of Chopin's day, whose sorrow is a thousandfold intensified in our time.

Other artists are variously implicated in the far-flung battle-line or in civilian service in its shadow. Frieda Hempel has been singing for the wounded in Berlin; Muratore, in Paris; Clara Butt, in London and on tour in the provinces. Ysaye, Kreisler, and de Pachmann have probably "played to bandaged audiences in half the capitals of Europe." Charles Dalmores has rejoined an opera company in this country after seven months in the French trenches and five months in the hospital, being over military age. In one Territorial corps, in a single platoon there are two Doctors and six Bachelors of Music. A drill sergeant, in teaching one organist a certain way to use the bayonet, strove to cheer him by telling him that if he held it thus he would certainly "do in" the adversary, and "only lose a finger" himself. For once in musical history many of the underpaid posts in Great Britain's organ lofts are vacant, and in advertising for applicants the statement is made that "only men above military age need apply." A Committee for Music has been formed, with Sir Hubert Parry as Chairman, under the auspices of the Professional Classes War Relief Council, and this Committee does what it can for war-impooverished musicians and arranges hospital concerts. "Perhaps the hospitals are the most striking and touching sight," says one observer. "The weariness and weakness of many in the audience seem to vanish as if by magic as the music goes on. Men who at the beginning could scarcely trouble to listen are, before the end, laughing and clapping as vigorously as the soundest, and joining as heartily in the choruses. At one Red Cross hospital a patient who had recently had his leg amputated 'obliged' with a sword dance around his crutches, and at the end stood and picked them up amid thunders of happy applause!"

JUSTICE TEMPERED WITH JUDGMENT

BY ALICE MAXWELL APPO

A DAY spent in a Kansas debtors' court is worth while—in Kansas City, for instance. One is first struck by the simplicity of the surroundings. Simplicity is the keynote of this whole scheme of justice. The room is small, and with its furnishings—a flat-top desk, a library table, a typewriter, some filing cabinets, a few chairs, and a telephone—has the appearance of an informal business office, and not at all the aspect of the conventional court of law.

At the desk, writing, sits Stephen E. Lee, presiding Judge; at the typewriter, a young fellow, the clerk. Steps are heard in the corridor and a man enters diffidently. He tells his story. He tells it in his own way. Sometimes the way is eager, quick, but oftener slow and stumbling. Judge Lee knows how to regulate the pace, to smooth the going, until that point is reached where to a certainty a "case" develops. Then, if not more than twenty dollars is involved, if the man is poor, and if the other party to the suit lives in the city, the judge picks up the telephone. The other party, become now the defendant, unsuspectingly responds.

"Who?" demanded one such person, not comprehending more than that something strange was being said by somebody.

"Stephen E. Lee," the Judge repeated.

"Don't know you, Steve."

"Mutual," came the answer; "but be here in the Small Debtors' Court in fifteen minutes. This is a legal summons."

The defendant duly arrives and the trial begins. But court-room phraseology seems out of place. Three men engage in earnest conversation, and the result is an adjustment of a difficulty concerning two. Practically that is all. Often the defendant, losing, pays his debt immediately. The Judge hands the money to the plaintiff and across the docket writes two magic words—"Case closed." Assuredly, one reasons, this is quick justice, sensible justice—or, as the poor would reckon it, mere justice.

And, oddly enough, this system which indulges in the unusual habit of dealing out mere justice came into being, one might fairly say, by chance.

One day in Lansing, Kansas, a certain attorney-general met a washerwoman. He

had known her in the past, perhaps as old-time servant or as schoolmate even, and, in democratic fashion, stopped to speak to her.

Hard times were harder, she complained, because even after she got work she could not get the money for it. Suddenly she pointed to a passing automobile.

"There goes a man now who owes me three dollars," she exclaimed, and added bitterly, "for washing I did months ago."

"And won't he pay you?" asked the attorney-general.

"He keeps putting me off, and I s'pose he won't," answered the washerwoman. "Anyway, I can't make him."

His legally trained mind turned toward the law. "Why not?" he asked her, and she told him.

A few weeks before, when she had visited the district court in search of redress, she had discovered that she must pay fifteen dollars just to file a suit, unless she wished formally to declare her poverty—that is, make a poverty affidavit. Then she would require the services of a lawyer to conduct the suit, and she had no money for such a purpose. And, further, the trial of the suit would consume more time than she, a workingwoman, could afford to give it.

It was true, he told himself, there was no redress for this woman, no machinery of law to satisfy her requirements, no justice for the asking—only for the paying, and the price prohibitive. Even with the filing fee obliterated by a poverty affidavit, there would still remain the lawyer and the law's delays. Even with a lawyer retained through charity, philanthropy, or what not, the law's delays would yet be operative, permitted, by a system cumbrous, slow, outworn, which frequently degenerated into a mere battleground of lawyers, where the frantically fought issue was oftener to gain time than to secure justice.

These conditions, he also reasoned, were not peculiar to Lansing or to Kansas. Unfortunately, they obtained rather generally in courts of law throughout the country. Neither were the washerwoman and her problem particularly the product of that town and State. She was a common type, and that to her was owed a sum of money which she had difficulty in collecting was a common

circumstance. A remedy that would suit this Lansing washerwoman would therefore suit a veritable multitude.

What kind of remedy? the attorney-general asked himself. A court that would combine free justice with quick justice. Unhappily, none of the existing courts could supply that combination. There was only one conclusion—a special court must be created.

Convinced, he proceeded to set in motion agencies that would conduce to the establishment of the court he had in mind, enlisting press and public, and with so much success that his idea gained force sufficient to project it finally into the Legislature. There, in proper legislative form, it trembled in the balance until a champion arose half-heartedly and ventured, "Give this bill a chance, and, if it fails, we can repeal it." In this hesitating manner the special court for small debtors was admitted to the statute-books of Kansas.

This new Court satisfies the needs of free justice by eliminating not only the charge for filing suit but the lawyer's fee; in the language of the bill, no attorney-at-law "shall concern himself or intermeddle in any manner whatsoever." It meets the needs of quick justice by its method of procedure, which is simple and direct. The judge acts as arbitrator, hears both sides, and renders his decision entirely on the merits. Excluding the lawyer excludes his arguments, his contentions for mere points of law, his motions for postponements. Whatever delay there may be is occasioned only by the necessity of obtaining evidence which may not be immediately available. And the necessity for the evidence is determined by the judge alone. He has all the time he needs to clear up any obscure point, but a lawyer has no time at all to gain delays and tire out, or starve out, the side which happens not to have retained him.

There are a few restrictions. As the name implies, only small amounts are handled, twenty dollars being actually the largest sum for which suit may be brought; then the person suing must be legally a poor person, and the person sued must live within the jurisdiction of the Court—that is, within the city or the county limits.

Actual cases are the best illustrations of what the Court does for the people. Near the top of a long list headed "Work and Labor" comes the case of Mrs. Grimes—an

old woman who was engaged by a not too prosperous neighbor to assist with housework, the neighbor's children being ill with scarlet fever. Mrs. Grimes was to be paid two dollars and a half a week, but at the end of two weeks received two dollars only, with the promise of three more to come. Because this promise was neglected she made her way to the Small Debtors' Court, and in the tremulous tones of age and weariness told Judge Lee the story.

He sent immediately for the neighbor's husband. That person, arriving, seemed to be well meaning if not abundantly possessed of the world's goods. Protesting that he had no intention of actually defrauding anybody, and enumerating his family expenses down to the last bottle of medicine, he demanded to know where, if anywhere, three dollars was to be extracted from his weekly pay envelope.

"How about one dollar?" asked the Judge. The man paused, the hunted-animal look receding. "If you can pay a dollar a week, in three weeks' time this matter will be settled." The hunted-animal look receded still further. The Judge was human; the Court was fair; a dollar a week was not so bad. He thought he could.

He kept his word. The Court as banker received his dollar on three successive pay days, and the old woman received the whole with a degree of satisfaction not to be measured by any standards of the well-to-do.

One day a colored gentleman of the old school shuffled in. He had lost something in the laundry—a "white, fringed, hollow-cornered bedspread." He had spent much time and many car-fares traveling between his home and the office of the laundry, and finally the laundry people had got tired of him and had told him briefly to clear out and to stay out. Evidently they had never heard of the Small Debtors' Court, but by the time Ike Dawson was shuffling out again the telephone had convinced them of its existence.

They began immediately taking steps to settle with the man. Their agent called to see him and offered him two dollars and a half, which he disdained. "You-all mighty glad ter talk ter me now, but Judge Lee 'tendin' ter dat. You see Judge Lee." They saw the Judge in court, and promptly paid four dollars, which the Judge decided was the value of the spread.

A certain lawyer, even, had neglected to inform himself concerning legislative enact-

ments. So when, in the capacity of employer, he told a laborer to go ahead and sue, he hardly expected to be taken at his word. "Go ahead and sue," when the amount involved was small and the person poor, had for years meant literally nothing. But the laborer took the matter to the Debtors' Court. Here a medium was struck, the Judge lopping something off the laborer's bill for a mistake consuming time—at forty cents an hour—and obtaining from the lawyer immediate payment of the remainder.

Still another case. A contractor had employed a youthful electrician to adjust a lighting fixture. During the course of the work a piece of plaster was broken off. The cost of repairing the damage was a dollar and a half, and this the contractor charged against the boy's account.

The boy contended that he was not responsible, as the plaster was already cracked when he went into the room and on the verge of falling off, anyway. The contractor denied this, and he succeeded in making good his point by holding back, not a dollar and a half, the sum in dispute, but the whole amount due the boy for his labor.

After hearing the boy's story Judge Lee summoned the contractor for his version. There was only one point of difference—the boy said the plaster was broken previously, the contractor said it was not. The situation required a modern Solomon, but the Judge was equal to it. He proposed cutting the disputed sum in half and dividing it between them.

Both plainly showed that this was a solution they had not anticipated, but they were weary of the fray and they accepted it. Each agreed to contribute seventy-five cents toward the repair of the plaster, and the contractor made out a check for the rest of the boy's pay. This petty wrangle contained the elements of a prolonged and ugly quarrel; the Debtors' Court put an end to it in thirty minutes.

But the record for quick settlement must be accorded the four suits that followed, one after another, the same day that four workmen filed into the little court-room, hats in their hands and gloom on their faces. It was the same old story—work and no pay; in this instance, excavating for the foundations of a moving-picture theater. By means of the telephone the Judge was soon in communication with the theater company's manager.

"Can you step up to Court for a few minutes?" was his ingratiating invitation.

Judge Lee tries to meet the convenience of all concerned, but is quick to recognize attempts at evasion.

"Not very well," answered the manager.

"To-morrow?"

"Hardly."

"Day after to-morrow?"

"Don't think I can."

"Be here in half an hour," was the ultimatum, and the manager arrived with five minutes to spare.

The four cases were tried in succession, the claims proved, admitted, and the money paid on the spot.

Some might consider that these cases settled outright were the best evidence that the Court is meeting a real need of the community; but installment payments, some as small as fifty cents a week, are even better. They go to show the value of that give-and-take policy of the Court, that elasticity which permits all sorts of adjustments to suit all sorts of circumstances, making the Court the servant of the community, not the master. Where the Court is master the Judge may frequently be heard explaining, "The law does not permit me—" in order to justify decisions at variance with common sense. In the Debtors' Court the Judge must render his decisions on the basis of common sense; the law does not permit anything else.

Useful as the Court has proved to be, it gives promise of greater usefulness through development. Judge Lee has certain definite ideas for extending the scope of the Court's influence, ideas based on intimate knowledge of the actual needs of the people who seek the Court's aid. In his opinion, the limitation regarding amount should be raised to take in suits involving at least fifty dollars; then, the residence clause should be altered to include those persons living outside the city boundaries but doing business in the city; and, most important of all, the poverty restriction, which frequently puts a premium upon not getting along, should be abolished.

George Fisher felt the force of the last, though he could not have expressed it, when Judge Lee turned him out and shut the door in his face—if figuratively, completely. He was a cement worker. A dispute over the quality of some of his work, with a refusal of payment, had brought him to the Court.

The merits of the case never had a chance to be aired, for the Judge's first words were, "Do you own any property?" and with a measure of pride the man replied that out

of his savings he had bought a six-room house and twenty-five foot lot. That settled it. Property is not poverty, and poverty was one of the requisites. The Judge told him this as kindly as he could; but the man went out with a look on his face that seemed to ask, and ask passionately, why industry, frugality, foresight, should bar rather than admit. Judge Lee's answer would be to let the bars down.

Development in a larger sense is possible. If in Kansas there has been evolved a method which copes successfully with certain adverse conditions there, its principles may be successfully applied to the same conditions anywhere. The remedy which cures the legal disabilities of the Lansing washerwoman will do the same service for the multitude she stands for. Justice, blindfolded, can take no account of State boundaries.

THE READER'S VIEW

ALBANIA'S PLIGHT

I would like to print in your hospitable pages a plea in behalf of one of the races of Europe which has suffered very much from the war, and whose plight has received little attention. I refer to the Albanians, whose territory has been invaded from all sides, and who are destitute and starving in consequence. Long before entering the war Italy seized the port of Avlona; and Greece occupied Kortsche, although nominally at peace with all the world; while Montenegro and Servia made destructive raids into northern Albania, although without any excuse of military necessity. All of these soldiers seized provisions, and so interfered with agriculture that the Albanians are starving. Their plight has attracted very little attention in view of more spectacular calamities, and only one relief ship—a sailing vessel—has gone from America, and it was for a long while delayed on its errand of mercy by the refusal of the Italian Government to give it a passport through the blockade it is maintaining of Albanian ports.

Unless the United States gets Italy to remove her illegal blockade there is little chance of helping the Albanians while war wages on all sides of them; but it becomes all the more necessary to see that when the war ceases justice shall be done the Albanians, and that the articles of the London Conference of 1913, which give them independence, should be respected.

This is a more vital question than it might at first sight appear, because Albania occupies such a strategic position that if it is divided among the neighboring states, or given over to any one of them, the jealousies of the other countries would inevitably result in another Balkan war, which might again involve all Europe. Albania is a necessary buffer state for Balkan peace.

The Albanians are the oldest inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula—the descendants of the ancient Pelasgians and Illyrians. Under Scanderbeg they saved Europe by beating back the

Turk. Although a small race, they have given to the world several great men, including Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great, Saint Jerome, Constantine the Great, Pope Clement XI, and Crispi. That their racial capacity for self-government is high is shown by the fact that their leaders have been Catholics, Protestants, Greek Orthodox, and Mohammedans, whereas among the other Balkan races religious persecution rages. The Albanians are a militant race, and amid their almost impregnable mountains they could wage a guerrilla warfare against any invader, which would cease only with their extermination. It would be an irreparable loss to have this courageous and historic race annihilated, and in order to aid their cause the Friends of Albanian Independence has been formed. Among its prominent indorsers are: Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago; Professor Emily G. Balch, of Wellesley; Mr. George W. Coleman, of the Ford Hall Foundation; Professor Samuel T. Dutton, of the World Peace Foundation; Mr. Hamilton Holt, of the "Independent;" Mrs. Haviland H. Lund, of the Forward-to-the-Land League; Miss Mary White Ovington, of Brooklyn, New York; Professor Herschel Parker, of Columbia; Professor Edward A. Steiner, of Grinnell, Iowa; Professor Radislav A. Tsanoff, of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas; Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, of the New York "Evening Post;" and Dr. Evangeline Young, of the Boston School of Eugenics.

The objects of the organization are to obtain as much publicity as possible for the Albanians, and to get a large number of people to sign the pledge cards as a tangible proof of interest and sympathy in this cause. The pledge cards contain the following statements: "Current history shows that there can be no permanent peace in Europe until the Balkans are tranquil. A free and independent Albania is necessary as a buffer state between rival Powers, if there is to be peace in the Balkans. Therefore I believe that, when the new map of Europe is made after the war, the London Conference of 1913

should be respected, and the territory of Albania confided to its lawful owners who have possessed it from time immemorial; and I hereby enroll myself among the Friends of Albanian Independence."

These pledge cards can be obtained from the Pan-Albanian Federation, at 97 Compton Street, Boston, Massachusetts; and subscriptions to enable the almost friendless Albanians to present their cause may be sent to Father Fan Noli, 97 Compton Street, Boston, Massachusetts; Christo Dako, 18 North Street, Southbridge, Massachusetts; or the undersigned at Elbowoods, North Dakota.

JOSEPH F. GOULD.

JEWISH GEMATRIA AND THE KAISER

In the "By the Way" department of your issue of January 5 you refer to the author of a recent identification of the Kaiser with the "beast" of Rev. xiii., designated by the number 666 (Rev. xiii. 18), as "an ingenious maker of riddles." I fear that he cannot claim originality; for his method is plainly a variation, or parody, of a computation perfectly familiar to New Testament scholars, by which the number 666 is made to apply to Nero—*Kaiser*, *Nero* (or *Kesar*, *Neron*). The theory is that if Hebrew characters are used to spell the name *Kesar-Neron* the numerical values of the letters will add up to 666. This result was reached by such scholars as Reuss, Hitzig, Ewald, and Dr. F. W. Farrar. Your readers may find a full reference to this curious exegesis in Farrar's "Early Days of Christianity," chap. 28, section 4.

(Rev.) GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE, D.D.
Cranford, New Jersey.

[As our correspondent suggests, the literature dealing with the cabalistic interpretation of the Bible is large, and the interpretation of this particular chapter is varied. The mystical number has been applied to Mohammed and the Turks, to the Pope and the Church of Rome, to Luther and the Reformation, and to Napoleon. The originality of the riddle-maker who has found the Kaiser to be the subject of apocalyptic criticism lies in his use of the English letters, rather than the Hebrew, to make out his arithmetically perfect case against the German Emperor.—THE EDITORS.]

NO DIVIDED NORTH IN THE CIVIL WAR

I was glad to see the letter of Mr. Bruce in The Outlook of December 1, for it has been somewhat painful to those who remember the Civil War and the period that preceded it to see the reappearance of a tendency among some Northern men to overrate the South and disparage the North. Those who have grown up since the period of the Civil War would find the book "The Uprising of a Great People," by Count Gasparin, worth reading, and also two

papers by John Stuart Mill in his collected essays.

No doubt it is true that the South *before* the Civil War was united and the North divided, but the shot fired on our flag at Fort Sumter reversed this at once and the North rose like one man.

It is very interesting to find that Dr. Channing had predicted this more than twenty years before. Slaveholders and pro-slavery politicians had counted on a divided North, but Dr. Channing said: "The blow that would sever the Union would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land. The moral sentiment against slavery, now kept down by the interests and duties which grew out of union, would burst its fetters and be reinforced by the whole strength of the patriotic principle, as well as by all the prejudices and local passions which would follow disunion." He also said that the danger of slave insurrection was small, but that there was danger that the Negroes would not be granted civil rights and would not be treated fairly by the whites after emancipation. L. F. C.

A NOTABLE THANKSGIVING SERVICE

In your issue of December 8, on page 827, you have a most interesting article under the title "Progress in Religious Unity." In this article you call attention to the remarkable manifestation of religious fellowship in the union Thanksgiving services that were held by a limited number of denominations in the cities of San Francisco, California, and New Haven, Connecticut, and very correctly comment upon these services as a welcome and hopeful sign of an approaching religious unity. It will therefore perhaps be somewhat surprising to your readers to know that for the past fourteen years in the city of Detroit there has been held each year at the Detroit Opera-House a Citizens' Interdenominational Thanksgiving Service, in which practically every religious denomination in the city participates. It was participated in, in 1915, by the following denominations; Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Jewish, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Unitarian, and Universalist. I think this is a record of co-operation in a distinctly religious service that has seldom been equaled anywhere, and yet this Interdenominational Thanksgiving Service has become, after fourteen years of trial, a fixed institution in the religious life of Detroit. It is worth noting that the Opera-House, which seats approximately three thousand people, is always crowded to its capacity within a few minutes after the doors open for the service. The service is reverent and devout, but it does not offend the religious sensibilities of any of the participants. It is truly religious, but interdenominational.

LEO M. FRANKLIN,
Secretary of the Executive Committee.

BY THE WAY

The extent of freight congestion on the railways in the East is evidenced in the statement that President Elliott, of the New Haven Railroad, recently telegraphed to every railway head east of the Mississippi to borrow locomotives. He was, it is said, able to obtain only three freight locomotives as a result. He has now asked the Canadian Pacific Railway for help.

The editor of "Commerce and Finance," in his salutatory for the New Year, while admitting certain faults and inviting suggestions for improvement, says: "Some friends have objected to what they describe as our constant optimism, but in this respect we refuse to change. We have lived long enough to learn that most of the troubles we expect never happen or are soon forgotten. We are, and shall continue to be, stubbornly optimistic."

"In the eighteen-sixties," says W. L. George in the "Atlantic," "the customary proposal was, 'Will you be mine?' Very faintly signs are showing that men will yet say, 'May I be yours?'"

The Bible House in New York City is a landmark, and within the familiar red brick building a domiciliary landmark was the printing office of Rudolph Lenz, who had been a figure in the Bible House for forty-five years. Any one who was ever in Mr. Lenz's office and saw its genial proprietor before his crowded desk must have thought of Dickens's Cheeryble brothers; the Cheeryble atmosphere of kindly good will radiated from the warm-hearted printer in his busiest moments. One of his unostentatious ways of "giving his tithe to the Lord" was that frequently he "forgot" to render bills for printing for a small Sunday-school or a struggling church. Generosity of this kind is so unusual that it appropriately receives mention in this department.

In a recent test of spelling in the Boston public schools, says "The Writer," the words most frequently misspelled were: Chauffeur, thermometer, auxiliary, feminine, miscellaneous, extraordinary, secession, similar, lieutenant, and nuisance. And these words, of course, are by no means as "hard" as those favorites of the old-fashioned spelling-bee, indelible, ecstasy, phthisis, and mignonette.

A somewhat rapid city man, according to a story that is going the rounds, remarked to a farmer friend, "Thursday we autoed to the country club and golfed till dark, then trolleyed back to town and danced till morning." The farmer "got back" in this language: "I've been havin' some time myself. Wednesday I muled to the cornfield and geehawed till sundown. Then I suppered till dark and piped

till nine. Then I bedstedded till five o'clock, then breakfasted till it was time to go mulin' again."

The late Colonel Robert Thompson Van Horn, founder of the Kansas City "Journal," is said to have published in that newspaper, in the '50s, the first account of the wonders of the Yellowstone region. His paper was also the first to report east of the Rockies the discovery of gold in Colorado. These two "beats" he regarded as the proudest achievements of his long career.

St. Matthew's Reading-Room, Fairbanks, Alaska, not only provides reading for its own locality, but distributes from 15,000 to 30,000 copies of magazines yearly to various regions of the North Country. "I doubt," says its Secretary, "whether there is a package which goes out bearing the mission's complimentary stamp which does not contain one or more copies of The Outlook. They go in summer by steamer, fishing boat, canoe, and raft; in winter by stage, by automobile, on men's backs, and by dog team."

Pipe lines are now carrying natural gas a distance of 120 miles in California, and from the Caddo field in Louisiana—one of the most productive fields so far discovered—to consumers in towns and cities of Arkansas 200 miles away. In 1914 the value of natural gas produced in this country is estimated to have been nearly \$100,000,000, or about eight times as much as twenty years ago.

A New York evening paper carries many columns of advertisements offering second-hand automobiles for sale. To the man who gets interested in these announcements as a possible purchaser the following advertisement under the same classification gives a startled pause: "I am paying \$25 up to \$100 for all kinds of cars for junk purposes. Address, etc."

Among the flotsam and jetsam of "hints" in a household magazine this may be worth trying: If postage stamps stick together, as they sometimes do in everybody's experience, don't try to get them apart by the messy process of soaking them in water. Instead, lay a thin sheet of paper on them and run a hot iron over the paper. They will then, it is said, come apart easily.

A revival of commerce on the Mississippi River is looked for during the coming year. In February the first of thirty-eight self-propelled steel barges will begin service between New Orleans and St. Louis. These boats are to use gas for power, to be supplied with wireless outfits, and to be equipped with labor-saving devices to make freight-carrying easy and economically profitable.